

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

Name of Candidate Riji Suganuma

Address Mylne's Court, (2 Mound Place), Edinburgh, 1.

Degree Doctor of Philosophy Date April 1971

Title of Thesis Jeremiah Chapter 2 - A Form-Critical and Theological Study -

The thesis of Jeremiah Chapter 2 contains five chapters, which attempt to develop S.R.Driver's suggestion (concerning the literary links between Dt.32, Hos.2, Ps.106 and Jeremiah Ch.2) in the light of recent form-critical study.

Chapter one: Textual Study and Translation of Jer.Ch.2.
In the DSS (fragments of Jeremiah), there are at least two different traditions of the text of Jeremiah: one is the Massoretic and the other is the Septuagintal type. A comparative study of MT and LXX is made using BHK 3rd edition and Ziegler's edition of the Septuagint.

Chapter two: Literary Characteristics of Jeremiah ch.2.
An examination is made of the structure of prophetic poetry:

1. R.Lowth's theory of the Parallelismus Membrorum;
2. Repetition;
3. The I-and-you style, which is a feature of the prophetic covenant message.

Jeremiah ch.2 consists of positive and negative structures and terminologies: positive in reciting the mighty acts of YHWH, and negative in presenting the apostasy and sin of Israel.

Chapter three: Form analysis of Jeremiah ch.2.
The prophetic messenger speech form and in particular, the covenant-Rib form which is the central theme of Jeremiah ch.2, are examined. The special characteristics of the covenant Rib form in Jeremiah ch.2 are dealt with.

Chapter four: An examination of the tradition upon which Jeremiah Ch.2 stands. Jeremiah ch.2 is rooted in a stream of tradition which has at its centre the covenant Rib pattern, a tradition flowing through Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms, and Jeremiah ch.2.

The covenant-Rib form originated and was formulated in prophetic and levitical circles in North Israel during periods of religious crisis in the history of Israel, for use in the penitential service, and as an expression of the repentance of rebellious Israel.

This covenant Rib tradition was preserved and handed down by the people of the Asaph-Psalms who constitute prophetic and levitical circles through the centuries.

Chapter five: Theological study of Jeremiah ch.2.
The relation between the tradition and Jeremiah's personal characteristics are examined. The message of Jeremiah has two foci: one is within the tradition of YHWH and the other is within his own personal experience and thought.

Jeremiah stands on the covenant Rib tradition, but he applies it to the contemporary situation of rebellious Israel.

2

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 2

- A Form Critical and Theological Study -

by

Eiji Suganuma

Doctor of Philosophy
University of Edinburgh
Faculty of Divinity
April 1971



ABSTRACT

=====

The thesis of Jeremiah Chapter 2 contains five chapters, which attempts to develop S.R.Driver's suggestion (concerning the literary links between Dt.32, Hos.2, Ps.106 and Jeremiah Ch.2) in the light of recent form-critical study.

Chapter one: Textual Study and Translation of Jer.Ch.2.

In the DSS (fragments of Jeremiah), there are at least two different traditions of the text of Jeremiah: one is the Massoretic and the other is the Septuagintal type. A comparative study of MT and LXX is made using BHK 3rd edition and Ziegler's edition of the Septuagint.

Chapter two: Literary Characteristics of Jeremiah ch.2.

An examination is made of the structure of prophetic poetry:

1. R.Lowth's theory of the Parallelismus Membrorum;
2. Repetition;
3. The I-and-you style, which is a feature of the prophetic covenant message.

Jeremiah ch.2 consists of positive and negative structures and terminologies: positive in reciting the mighty acts of YHWH, and negative in presenting the apostasy and sin of Israel.

Chapter three: Form analysis of Jeremiah ch.2.

The prophetic messenger speech form and in particular, the covenant-Rib form which is the central theme of Jeremiah ch.2, is

examined. The special characteristics of the covenant Rib form in Jeremiah ch.2 are dealt with.

Chapter four: An examination of the tradition upon which Jeremiah Ch.2 stands. Jeremiah ch.2 is rooted in a stream of tradition which has at its centre the covenant Rib pattern, a tradition flowing through Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms, and Jeremiah ch.2.

The covenant-Rib form originated and was formulated in prophetic and levitical circles in North Israel during periods of religious crisis in the history of Israel, for use in the penitential service, and as an expression of the repentance of rebellious Israel.

This covenant Rib tradition was preserved and handed down by the people of the Asaph-Psalms who constitute prophetic and levitical circles through the centuries.

Chapter five: Theological study of Jeremiah ch.2.

The relation between the tradition and Jeremiah's personal characteristics are examined. The message of Jeremiah has two foci: one is within the tradition of YHWH and the other is within his own personal experience and thought.

Jeremiah stands on the covenant Rib tradition, but he applies it to the contemporary situation of rebellious Israel.

A c k n o w l e d g e m e n t s

In presenting the thesis, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor George W. Anderson and the Reverend Robert Davidson to whom I am deeply indebted for the help they have given me in the preparation of the thesis.

My thanks are due also to Professor Norman W. Porteous and Dr. J. C. L. Gibson, and to Professor Herman Y. Sacon (Tokyo), Professor J. Asano (Tokyo) who studied in New College Edinburgh 1926-28, and Professor K. H. Walkenhorst (Tokyo) for their instruction in the Hebrew and Aramaic languages, in the DSS, and O.T. theology.

I am indebted to the World Council of Churches (British Council of Churches, London, and National Council of Churches (Tokyo), whose ecumenical scholarship (1967-1968) enabled me to come and study at Edinburgh University, and to Mr. C. J. Hart who has enabled me to pursue my study here.

I am indebted also to Mrs. A. Sutherland and Mrs. U. Taylor for the typing of the final copy and to Mr. Ian Cairns for careful proof-reading.

I cannot be thankful enough to my mother, brothers and sisters (in Japan) and Mr. Balderston and family for their endless patience, encouragement, and prayer.

I thank, finally, my father (the late Reverend Midori Suganuma) who left me (1951) the faith in Christ and love for the Bible as his heritage and to the One who וְהוּא יְהוָה and by whom וְהוּא יְהוָה (Jer. 11:18) : that Thou art YHWH, my God : כִּי אַתָּה יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵי (Jer. 31:18)!

JEREMIAH CHAPTER 2

- A Form Critical and Theological Study -

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT OF THESIS	
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	
TABLE OF CONTENTS	
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE	3
CHAPTER TWO	63
CHAPTER THREE	97
CHAPTER FOUR	201
CHAPTER FIVE	307
CONCLUSION	374
ABBREVIATIONS	376
BIBLIOGRAPHY	381

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
INTRODUCTION	1
CHAPTER ONE - Textual Study and Translation	
I. <u>Textual Study of Jeremiah Chapter 2</u>	3
A. The Problems of the Text.	
1. The Dead Sea Scrolls and the text of Jeremiah .	3
2. The Massoretic Text and the Book of Jeremiah. .	10
a. The Scribal Correction in Jeremiah ch.2 . .	10
b. The Book of Jeremiah in the 3rd edition of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica	11
- Appendix A. Differences between BHK 3 and T-S 12.	15
3. The Septuagint Text and the Book of Jeremiah. .	16
a. The <u>Kaige</u> Recension in Jeremiah ch.2. . . .	16
b. The Book of Jeremiah - Ziegler's Edition in the Göttingen Septuagint	18
- Appendix B. Differences in the Editions of the Septuagint	23
- Appendix C. The Problem of the <u>Ur</u> -Text of the Septuagint	25
B. Comparative Study of MT and LXX.	29
1. The Differences Between MT and LXX	30
a. Additions and Omissions in MT and LXX . . .	30
b. Double Readings in MT and LXX	34
c. Transpositions in MT and LXX.	36
d. Alterations in MT or LXX.	37
2. The Characteristics of MT	39
a. Scribal Correction.	39
b. Peculiar Forms of Hebrew Particles	40
c. Characteristics of the MT as seen in its additions	41
3. The Characteristics of LXX	42
a. The LXX's Characteristic Understanding. . .	43

b. The LXX's Characteristic Translations . . .	45
- Appendix D. MT and LXX Order of Jeremiah .	49
II. <u>The Translation of Jeremiah Chapter 2</u>	50
CHAPTER TWO - Literary Characteristics of Jeremiah ch.2.	
I. <u>The Composition-Structure: Prose and Poetry.</u>	63
A. The Composition Structure and the Prose Sections. .	63
1. Composition-Structure in the Book of Jeremiah .	63
2. Prose in Jeremiah ch.2.	66
B. The Prophetic Poetry.	67
1. Parallelismus Membrorum	67
a. Synonymous Parallelism.	69
i. In passages with positive meaning content.	69
ii. In passages with negative meaning content.	70
b. Antithetic Parallelism in passages with positive and negative meaning content . . .	71
2. Repetition.	73
a. Word repetition	75
b. Word play	76
c. Key words	78
i. YHWH and His words	79
ii. Israel	79
iii. Way and its synonymous words	80
iv. Land and wilderness.	81
v. " "	83
3. I - you Style	84
II. <u>The Literary Structure and Terminology</u>	86
1. Positive Structure and Terminology:	86
2. Negative Structure and Terminology.	88
a. Apostasy.	89

Page

b. The Sin of Israel	90
c. The Disaster and Judgement.	92
3. Rhetorical Questions and <u>Rib</u>	93
a. Rhetorical Questions.	93
b. Imperative Style.	95

CHAPTER THREE - Form Analysis of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

I. <u>Survey of the Investigation</u>	97
A. The Messenger Speech Form Contribution of L.Köhler, J.Lindblom	97
B. The Prophetic Speech Form Contribution of H.Gunkel, H.W.Wolff, R.B.Y.Scott, C.Westermann.	99
II. <u>The Prophetic Speech Form in Jeremiah Ch.2.</u>	104
A. The Prophetic Speech Formula in Jeremiah ch.2	104
1. YHWH's Oracle Formula	107
2. Introductory Messenger Formula	110
3. Revelation Formula.	112
4. Commissioning Formula	116
5. Proclamation Formula.	119
6. Messenger Speech Formula.	122
a. Messenger Formula in Ancient Israel	123
b. Messenger Speech in the Mari Letters. . . .	124
B. Uniqueness of the Prophetic Speech Form in Jeremiah ch.2	131
- Appendix A. YHWH's Oracle Formula.	134
- Appendix B. 'Thus says YHWH' in the Book of Jeremiah	138
- Appendix C. Editorial Revelation Formula	141
- Appendix D. Prophetic Speech Formulae.	145
III. <u>The Covenant Rib Form in Jeremiah Ch.2.</u>	149
A. The Primary Meaning of Hebrew <u>Rib</u>	151

	<u>Page</u>
B. The Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in Jeremiah Ch.2	155
1. The Appeal to the Heavens in the Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form	162
a. The appeal to the heavens.	162
i. The heavens as Judge	162
ii. As Witness	163
iii. As Members of the Divine Assembly	166
b. Uniqueness of Jer.2 in its Meaning-Content	167
2. The Historical Prologue in the Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form	172
a. The Exodus formula in Jeremiah Ch.2	173
b. The Wilderness-Wandering in Jeremiah Ch.2.	176
c. The Entry formula in Jeremiah Ch.2	178
3. Rhetorical Questions in the Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form	179
a. Jer.2:11, 'Change the Glory'.	180
b. Jer.2:29, 'Why do you <u>Rib</u> with Me?'	185
4. "Sitz im Leben" of the <u>Rib</u> Form	187
a. Legal Sphere	188
b. Cultic Sphere.	191
c. International Treaty Sphere.	194
C. Uniqueness of the Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in Jeremiah Ch.2	198

CHAPTER FOUR - The Analysis of the Tradition upon which Jeremiah Ch.2 Stands.

Introduction.	201
I. <u>Literary - and Covenant Rib - Tradition</u>	202
A. <u>Deuteronomy 32</u>	202
1. Literary Characteristics of Dt.32	202
a. Repetition and Parallelism	203
b. Negative Expressions in Dt.32	204
c. Differences between Dt.32 and Jer.Ch.2	205
2. The Covenant- <u>Rib</u> Form in Dt.32	206
B. <u>The Book of Hosea</u>	209
1. Literary Characteristics of Hosea.	209

	<u>Page</u>
a. Repetition and Parallelism	212
b. Word play	213
c. Similarity in thought between Hosea and Jer.Ch.2	214
d. Negative Expressions in Hosea.	217
2. The Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in the Book of Hosea . . .	219
a. The Term <u>Rib</u>	220
b. The Prophetic <u>Rib</u> Form in Hosea	221
C. <u>The Asaph-Psalms</u>	223
1. Literary Characteristics	223
a. The Asaph-Psalms	225
b. I-Thou Style, and Parallelism and Repetition	228
c. Negative Expressions in the Asaph-Psalms . .	229
2. The Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in the Asaph-Psalms. . . .	231
D. <u>Exodus 19:3-8</u> as 'Origo' of the Covenant Tradition .	236
1. Literary Characteristics	237
a. Literary links	237
b. Parallelism and Repetition	240
c. Literary Style	242
2. The Covenant Form of Ex. 19:3-8	243
Note I - The Problem of the unit/units comprising the passage.	247
Note II- Problem of the Literary Source.	248
E. <u>Judges 2:1-5</u> (6:8-10, 10:11-15) as 'origo' of the Covenant-Rib	251
1. Literary Characteristics	251
a. Similarity of terminology between Jud.2:1-5 and Jer.Ch.2	251
b. Negative Expressions	252
c. I and you style.	253
2. The Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in Jud.2:1-5	253
a. The Covenant <u>Rib</u> Form in Jud.2:1-5	253
b. "Sitz im Leben" of the Covenant <u>Rib</u> in Jud.2:1-5	255

	<u>Page</u>
II. <u>Terminology and Covenant Rib Form common to</u> <u>Deut.32, Hosea, Jeremiah Ch.2, and the Asaph-Psalms . .</u>	257
A. <u>Terminology common to Deut.32, Hosea, Jer.2, and</u> <u>the Asaph-Psalms.</u>	257
1. YHWH.	257
2. Other Gods.	
3. Israel.	259
4. Apostasy.	261
5. Some words which are rare in the Old Testament.	262
B. <u>The Covenant-Rib Form and its contents common to</u> <u>Deut.32, Hosea, Jer.2, and the Asaph-Psalms</u>	263
1. Appeal to the heavens (and earth), and Israel .	263
2. Historical prologue: the mighty acts of YHWH .	263
3. Interrogation: rhetorical questions in YHWH's address	265
4. Accusation	267
5. Judgement	268
Appendix A. Terminology common to Dt.32, Hosea, Jer.2, and the Asaph-Psalms.	269
Appendix B. The Covenant Rib Form and its contents common to Dt.32, Hosea, Jer.2, and the Asaph-Psalms	273
III. <u>The Prophetic Tradition in North Israel:</u>	
<u>Covenant-Rib Tradition.</u>	276
A. The Religious Crises as the background of the Covenant-Rib Tradition.	276
1. The Murmuring (Rebellion) in the wilderness . .	277
2. The Worship of the golden-calf at Sinai/Horeb, and Bethel/Dan.	282
3. The Worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim	285
B. The Penitential Service in connection with the Covenant-Rib.	288
1. Penitential Service at Bethel (Judges 2) . . .	288
2. Bethel Tradition and Jacob Tradition	289

Page

3. Jacob-Bethel Tradition in Hosea	291
4. The aim of dictation of Jeremiah - Jer.36	292
C. The Circles concerned with the Covenant- <u>Rib</u> Tradition	294
1. Prophetic circles in North Israel	294
2. Levitical circles in North Israel	297
3. The People of the Asaph-Psalms: Prophetic- Levitical circle.	303

CHAPTER FIVE - Theological Study of Jeremiah Chapter 2 -
- Prophetic Theology (of Covenant-Rib) in
Jeremiah Ch.2. -

A. <u>YHWH - The God of Israel</u>	307
1. YHWH as the Speaker to His people	308
2. YHWH as the God who remembers Israel.	309
a. To remember their sin	310
b. To remember their sin no more	310
c. To remember the Covenant with Israel.	311
3. YHWH who plants Israel	312
a. It is YHWH who plants Israel.	313
b. The purpose - that Israel may live in YHWH's land	313
c. YHWH expects the fruits (response) of faithfulness.	313
4. YHWH as Judge	314
a. YHWH's wrath against unfaithful Israel's sin	315
b. YHWH's judgement is instructive for repentance	316
B. <u>יָדַע</u> in Jeremiah Ch.2.	317
1. Some problems connected with the concept 'to know YHWH' in the O.T.	318
2. <u>לֹא יָדַע</u> in the Covenant- <u>Rib</u> Form	321
a. <u>יָדַע לֹא</u> in the negative form	321
i. The condemnation against the leaders.	321
ii. The reason for the Rib of YHWH against Israel's apostasy	323

	<u>Page</u>
b. The Expressions of Apostasy	324
3. Yṯ' in the imperative form	325
a. YHWH's demand for the faithful response of Israel	325
b. YHWH's calling Israel to repentance	325
- Appendix A. Yṯ' in the Book of Jeremiah	326
C. <u>The Wilderness Motif in Jeremiah Ch.2</u>	328
1. Some problems connected with the wilderness motif in the Old Testament.	328
a. The Nomadic Ideal	328
b. Positive and Negative Aspects of the Wilderness Tradition	330
2. The Communion between YHWH and Israel in the Wilderness	333
a. The covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel.	333
b. Israel's response of faith.	334
c. The merciful act of YHWH.	334
3. YHWH's leading in the wilderness.	335
4. The wilderness tradition in Deut.32, Hosea, and the Asaph-Psalms.	337
a. The wilderness tradition in Deut.32	337
b. The wilderness tradition in Hosea	339
c. The wilderness tradition in the Asaph- Psalms.	340
5. The rebellions of Israel in the wilderness in Jeremiah Ch.2.	341
a. The rebellious lust of Israel	341
b. The event of Israel's rebellion in the wilderness tradition.	342
6. The Desolation-Aspect of the Wilderness in Jeremiah Ch.2	344
7. The Metaphor of "Wilderness" in the Rhetorical Question Form	346
D. <u>Historical Prologue in Jeremiah Ch.2.</u>	348
1. Some problems connected with the Sinai and Exodus Traditions	348

a.	The contributions of G.von Rad, and K.Kraus	348
b.	The contributions of G.E.Mendenhall and others.	352
2.	The Historical Prologue in Jeremiah Ch.2 . . .	353
a.	The Exodus " הַעֲלֵה " Formula	353
b.	The Entry " אָמַן " Formula.	357
3.	The Historical Prologue in the Covenant and Covenant Rib Forms	360
a.	Covenant formulation at Sinai, Ex.19:3-8, 24.	360
b.	The Covenant-Rib Form: Jud.2:1-5	362
c.	The Historical Prologue in Deut.32, Hosea, and the Asaph-Psalms.	363
4.	Characteristics of Covenant History in Jeremiah Ch.2	368
a.	Three-fold saving acts of YHWH	368
b.	Three-fold negative response of Israel. . .	370
c.	Positive-Negative Structure	372
	CONCLUSION	374

I N T R O D U C T I O N

=====

* Many years ago S.R.Driver pointed out that there were literary links between Deut.32, Hosea 2, Ps.106, and Jeremiah 2.¹⁾

This thesis attempts to develop Driver's suggestion in the light of recent form-critical study. In particular, an attempt is made to show how the material in Jeremiah 2 stands within a stream of tradition which has at its centre the covenant Rib pattern.

I am indebted to the Rev. Robert Davidson and Prof. George W.Anderson in whose seminar on Jeremiah and the Psalms respectively my understanding of the form-critical approach to the material was deepened.

Prof. Norman W.Porteous has pointed out that there are two foci in Jeremiah: one is within the tradition of YHWH and the other is within his personal higher thought.²⁾ I apply this understanding to the theological study of Jeremiah ch.2, to explore the relationship between tradition and Jeremiah's own experience and thought.

Chapter 1 - The textual study of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

Chapter 2 - Literary characteristics of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

Chapter 3 - Form analysis of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

1) S.R.Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Edinburgh, 1913, (9th ed.), p. 96.

2) cf. N.W.Porteous, "The Basis of the Ethical Teaching of the Prophets", in Living the Mystery, 1967, pp. 55, 59.

Chapter 4 - An examination of the tradition upon which
Jeremiah Chapter 2 stands.

Chapter 5 - Theological Study of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

C H A P T E R O N E

=====

Textual Study and Translation

I. Textual Study of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

A. The Problems of the Text.

1. The Dead Sea Scrolls¹⁾ and the Text of Jeremiah.

The most direct and obvious contribution of the Qumrân scrolls is in the field of Old Testament textual studies. The text of Jeremiah is of particular interest.

In his book entitled The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, Frank Moore Cross²⁾ reports:

"Eleven caves clustered about ruins on the Wâdî Qumrân have now produced manuscripts or manuscript fragments. These include the cave of the initial discovery in 1947 (Qumrân I), and the most recent find, a cave discovered in January 1956 (Qumrân XI). Of the Qumrân caves, only Caves I and XI have produced relatively intact manuscripts. The largest single cache, however, and probably the most important, was dug from the ancient floor levels of Cave IV found in 1952: tens of thousands of fragments belonging to a corpus of more than three hundred and eighty manuscripts."³⁾

- 1) For the enormous literature devoted to the Dead Sea Scrolls, see C.Burchard, Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer, Vol.I, 1957 and Vol.II. (BZAW 89, Berlin, 1965: to which I contributed a Japanese bibliography of DSS-Studies, cf. Vol.II, "Vorwort").
- 2) F.M.Cross, The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, London, 1958. (Revised edition, 1961, New York) -ALQ-
- 3) *ibid.*, p.2.

P.W.Skehan has published the lists of Old Testament manuscripts from Qumrân (I - XI) with a full inventory.¹⁾ The text of Jeremiah is represented by one fragment from "cave 2" (2Q 13) and by three fragments from "cave 4".²⁾

The fragment of Jeremiah from the "minor cave 2" is called 2Q Jer and was published in Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, Vol.3.³⁾ It contains parts of Jer. 42-44, 46-49.⁴⁾

Cave IV has furnished three fragments of Jeremiah. MSS of Jeremiah from cave IV are called 4Q Jer, 4Q Jer(a), and 4Q Jer(b). These texts are as yet unpublished, but F.M.Cross⁵⁾ and

1) P.W.Skehan, "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran and the Text of the Old Testament", BA 28, 1965, pp. 87-100. - BSQ -

2) cf. *ibid.*, p. 88.

3) M.Baillet, J.T.Milik, R.de Vaux: "Les petites Grottes de Qumrân", Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of Jordan, Vol.3, Oxford, 1962. (2Q 13 = 2Q Jer)

4) *ibid.*, pp. 62-69.

5) F.M.Cross, "Cave 4 of Qumrân (4Q)", BA 19, 1956, pp. 83-96.

"A New Qumrân Biblical fragment related to the Original Hebrew underlying the Septuagint", BASOR 132, 1953, p. 24.

OMQ "The Oldest Manuscript from Qumrân", JBL 74, 1955, pp. 147-72.

"The Dead Sea Scrolls", IB 12, 1957, pp. 645-67.

"The Development of the Jewish Scripts", Albright Festschrift, The Bible and the Ancient Near East, ed. by G.E.Wright, 1961, pp. 133-202.

HBT "The History of the Biblical Text in the Light of Discoveries in the Judaean Desert", HThR 57, 1964, pp. 281-99.

CQD "The Contribution of the Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text", IEJ 16, 1966, pp. 81-95.

D.N.Freedman¹⁾ have indicated their character and contents.

As to 4Q Jer(a), D.N.Freedman reports:

"4Q Jer(a) contains Jer. 12:17-13:6 and 17:10-25 and is to be dated between 225-175 B.C. or about 200 B.C."²⁾

4Q Jer(a) is archaic and one of three very old documents found in Cave IV.³⁾

On 4Q Jer(b), F.M.Cross reports:

"The fragment of 4Q Jer(b) contains the left portion of a column of Text. Ends of lines are preserved with the text of Jer. 9:22-10:18. Lines 5-7 give the reading in question."⁴⁾

4Q Jer(b) is a Hasmonaean manuscript⁵⁾ and contains the so-called short recension of Jeremiah, identical with the old Greek (Septuagint) tradition.

The most striking feature of the Biblical manuscripts found in Qumrân is the diversity of their textual traditions.

As to the text of Jeremiah, F.M.Cross writes as follows:

1) D.N.Freedman, "The Massoretic Text and the Qumran Scrolls," Textus 2, 1962, pp. 87-102.

2) *ibid.*, p. 93.

3) F.M.Cross, ALQ, p. 33, the archaic Samuel (4Q Sam^b), Jeremiah (4Q Jer^a), and Exodus (4Q Ex^f).

4) *ibid.*, p. 139. He explains that: line 5 (= MT. 10.4), line 6 (= MT. 10.9), line 7 (= MT. 10.11). Reconstruction demonstrates what can be seen even from a casual comparison of the text with MT and LXX, that 4Q Jer(b) agrees with the LXX in transposing v.5 after v.9 and omitting vv.6-8 and 10.

5) F.M.Cross, OMQ, p. 164. He explains : Archaic, ca. 200-150 BC.
ALQ, p. 88. Hasmonaean, ca. 150-30 BC.

"In the recension underlying the Septuagint text it is one eighth shorter than in the Hebrew Bible. Scholars have suggested that the translators simply abbreviated their text for their own reasons. Other scholars have maintained that two ancient recensions are responsible for the differences. From Qumran comes a fragmentary Hebrew manuscript, which, where preserved, follows the short text of Jeremiah found hitherto only in Greek. In Chapter 10, for example, the Septuagint omits no fewer than four verses, and shifts the order of a fifth. The Qumran Jeremiah (4Q Jer b) omits the four verses and shifts the order in identical fashion. The longer recension is also present at Qumran." 1)

Non-traditional text-types were first recognized when study was directed to 4Q Jer(b). It contains the so-called short recension of Jeremiah, which underlies the old Greek (Septuagint) tradition. The latter is about one-eighth shorter than the received text (Textus Receptus : MT). 2) The Proto-Massoretic family is also represented at Qumrân, especially well in 4Q Jer(a), a manuscript from ca. 200 B.C.

It seems that the MT and LXX of Jeremiah are based on different recensions of the Hebrew text of that book, so that the differences between MT and LXX are based not on translation idiosyncrasies, but on different textual traditions. 3)

Study of the two textual traditions in the light of the new data makes it clear that the Proto-Massoretic text was expansionist, and settles an old controversy. Those who have defended the

1) F.M.Cross, ALQ, p. 139.

2) F.M.Cross, CQD, p. 82.

3) H.M.Orlinsky, "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies", JAOS 61, 1941, p. 85.
W.F.Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible", BASOR 140, 1955, pp. 27-33.

originality of the traditional text by arguing that the Greek translator abbreviated the Hebrew text before him are proved wrong. The Septuagint faithfully reflects a conservative Hebrew textual family.¹⁾

On the other hand, the Proto-Massoretic and Massoretic family is marked by editorial reworking and conflation, the secondary filling out of names and epithets, expansion from parallel passages, and even glosses from biblical passages outside Jeremiah.²⁾

G.R.Driver puts the issue in the following way:

"That two different types of text are found at Qumrân, of which the smaller group is "Septuagintal" and the large "Massoretic", raises interesting questions: for example, do both lots come from the same source or do the former derive from Egypt and the latter from Palestine; and are the Scrolls a unified collection belonging to a single group of people, e.g. the Zadokites or Covenanters of Qumran, or are they a miscellaneous collection brought together in the caves at Qumrân more or less by chance? This Zadokite acquaintance with a Septuagintal text is significant; for no Palestinian Jews but only those from Egypt will have had any use for the Septuagint."³⁾

In his essay "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible",⁴⁾ W.F.Albright proposed a "theory of local recensions", based on W.Skehan's study on "A Fragment of the Song of Moses

1) F.M.Cross, CQD, p. 82.

2) *ibid.*, (CQD), p. 82-3. Note 6. Cross refers to J.G.Janzen and says: "As instances of glosses from outside Jeremiah, he (Janzen) cites Jer. 28:16, 29:32, and 48:45-6 (all omitted in the Old Greek)."

3) G.R.Driver, The Judaean Scrolls, Oxford, 1965, p. 447.

4) W.F.Albright, "New Light on Early Recensions of the Hebrew Bible", BASOR 140, 1955, pp. 27-33.

(Dt. 32) from Qumran".¹⁾ F.M.Cross, following W.F.Albright, offers additional evidence of his own. He states:

"We may sketch the history of the local texts as follows. Three textual families appear to have developed slowly between the fifth and first centuries B.C., in Palestine, in Egypt and in a third locality, presumably Babylon." ²⁾

These three textual families are the Palestinian family from which the Samaritan Pentateuch derives, the Egyptian, and the Babylonian family.

On the contrary, M.H.Goshen-Gottstein criticized the "theory of local recensions."³⁾ He holds "an archetype" theory.

"Almost all our evidence from Medieval (Hebrew) MSS would be explicable as a secondary development from a common 'archetype' and practically all of it as belonging to one 'recension'." ⁴⁾

Each text has its own transmission history. No sweeping

1) P.W.Skehan, "A Fragment of the Song of Moses (Dt. 32) from Qumran", BASOR 136, 1954, pp. 12-15.
In Dt. 32:43, the Greek has 8 cola, as against 4 in MT, and 6 in the Qumrân fragment.

BSQ (op. cit.), RA 28, 1965, pp. 87-100. He also adopts the theory of the local recensions: "the 4Q manuscripts are placed in the context of the Samaritan recension, the Old Greek, the Proto-Lucianic Greek, and finally of the Masoretic text." (p. 99)

2) F.M.Cross, CQD, p. 86. HBT, pp. 287-290.

3) M.H.Goshen-Gottstein, The Book of Isaiah, sample edition with introduction (HURP : The Hebrew University Bible Project), Jerusalem, 1965.

(HBM) - "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts", Bibl. 48, 1967, pp.243-290.

4) M.H.Goshen-Gottstein, HBM, p. 285, (Bibl. 48).

generalizations can be made about the text of the Old Testament. The textual traditions for each book must be examined in their own right, and the inter-relatedness of the different traditions assessed.¹⁾

Whatever the true explanation, there are at least two different traditions of the text of Jeremiah. One is the Septuagintal type and the other is the Massoretic type.²⁾

In the case of the book of Jeremiah the comparative study between MT and LXX is important.

1) Robert Davidson, The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, Vol.3, Biblical Criticism, p. 106.

2) An interesting example is found in the New-covenant passage:

Jer. 31:32 - MT וְאֵנֹכִי בְעֵלְתִּי בָם
 38:32 - LXX καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν

Behind this difference, there are two different traditions.

"The MT and LXX of Jeremiah are based on different recensions of the Hebrew text of that book."
 (J. Bright, Jeremiah, Anc.B., cxxiv.)

The LXX translation of Jeremiah must have been made at least by the second century, and its Hebrew exemplar (of Proto-Septuagint) must have been in existence at least a century earlier.

According to "Aquila" : the later Greek Version (A.D. 130), the text is

καὶ ἐγὼ εἶμι ἐκυριεύουσα (ἐν αὐτοῖς)

This is a witness that the Massoretic type became dominant in the period of the Destruction of the Temple (A.D. 70-130).

But in the New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews, the text is the same as the LXX tradition.

Heb. 8:9 καὶ ἐγὼ ἡμέλησα αὐτῶν,

This is a witness that the primitive Christian Church used the LXX Tradition (Alexandrian Group).

2. The Massoretic Text and the Book of Jeremiah.

It is customary to designate the canonical text as the Massoretic Text (MT), because it was preserved and secured against every possibility of corruption by Jewish scholars of the second half of the first millennium A.D. known as 'Massoretes' (transmitters), the successors of the older scribes (סופרים).¹⁾ In the modern Hebrew מסורת means 'tradition'.²⁾

a. The Scribal Correction in Jeremiah Ch.2.

In Jeremiah ch.2 we can detect one example of Scribal influence, a so-called 'Scribal correction' (תקון סופרים)³⁾ - (Jer. 2:11). In about twenty places throughout the Old Testament the Massoretic reading indicates a 'Scribal correction'.

1) O.Eissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, Oxford, 1966, p. 680.

Concerning 'Sopherim': B.J.Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions, Cardiff, 1951, p. 30f.

2) E.Ben-Yehuda, English-Hebrew, Hebrew-English Dictionary, New York, 1964, p. 167, 275.

3) C.D.Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible, London, 1897, p. 347f.

He quoted from the St.Petersburg Codex of A.D. 916, which is the oldest dated MS known at present, and said, on the 'Emendations of the Sopherim' - "the Massorah Parva notices it in four different places. On Ez. 8:17, Zech. II:12, Mal. 1:13, 3:8, it states it is 'one of the eighteen emendations of the Sopherim'." He mentioned 18 emendations:

1. Gen. 18:22, 2. Num. 11:15, 3. Num. 12:12, 4. ISam. 3:13, 5. 2Sam. 16:12, 6-8. 2Sam. 20:1, 9. Jer. 2:11, 10. Ez. 8:17, 11. Hos. 4:7, 12. Hab. 1:12, 13. Zech. 2:12, 14. Mal. 1:13, 15. Ps. 106:20, 16. Job. 7:20, 17. Job. 32:3, 18. Lam. 3:20. (cf. on Jer.2:11,

P.Kahle gives the list with minor differences from that of C.D. Ginsburg. He adds I Kings 12:16, II Chr.10:16 for 7-8. (Cited from B.J.Roberts, op.cit., p. 35.)

B.J.Roberts explains it thus:

"They all deal with attempts to avoid anthropomorphisms and anthropopathisms, and as a rule, consist of a change of suffix in order to avoid a direct reference to God, and so incur the danger of blasphemy. An argument for the early dating of the 'emendations' is that the Massoretic text receives the support of the Septuagint, and for the Pentateuch, of the Samaritan Pentateuch. Therefore they are to be traced back well into the third century B.C."

b. The Book of Jeremiah in the third Edition of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica.

The third edition of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica (1937) marks an important event in the history of the study of the Massoretic text. BHK, from the third edition onwards, has been printed from Manuscript B 19A written in the year 1008 A.D. and now in the Leningrad public Library (L. Leningradensis).²⁾

Recently two new projects have started: The Hebrew University

1) B.J.Roberts, op. cit., pp. 34-6.

2) Concerning the third edition of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica:

O.Eissfeldt, The Old Testament - An Introduction, pp. 691-2.

B.J.Roberts, op. cit., p. 85f.

E.Würthwein, The Text of the Old Testament, Oxford, 1957, pp. 9 - 32.

Bible Project¹⁾ has started with the publication (in 1965) of the Book of Isaiah as a sample edition with introduction. On the other hand Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS) made its appearance in a new form in 1968, after forty years of Kittel's Biblia Hebraica (BHK), 3rd edition.²⁾

The Book of Jeremiah has not yet appeared either in the Hebrew University Bible Project³⁾ or in the Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia (BHS). Accordingly we must use for our study of Jeremiah the Book of Jeremiah in BHK's third edition, which was edited by W. Rudolph

- 1) M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, op. cit., HUBP. M.H. Goshen-Gottstein, who is the general editor of this project, explains:

"The text printed in this edition is an exact reproduction of the Aleppo Codex. This is the most 'authoritative' manuscript of the Bible produced by Aaron-Ben Asher and it is this manuscript that was approved by Maimonides." pp. 29-30.

In many respects this project is an important advance on Biblia Hebraica, particularly in the apparatus criticus. Among the non-Hebrew versions the Septuagint has been given pride of place. The new material from the Dead Sea Scrolls has been fully taken into account.

- 2) Concerning this edition (BHS):

K. Ellinger and W. Rudolph, Prolegomena, in Liber Jesaiae, ed. by D. Winton Thomas, Stuttgart, 1968.

Israel Yeivin, "The New Edition of the Biblia Hebraica - Its Text and Massorah", Textus 7, 1969, pp. 114-123.

Two books of this edition (BHS) have appeared:

Liber Jesaiae, ed. by D. Winton Thomas, 1968.

Liber Psalmorum, ed. by H. Bardtke, 1969.

- 3) The "Report on the Hebrew University Bible Project" states: -

"Work on the Edition of the Book of Jeremiah was begun during the current year."

Textus 6, 1968, Jerusalem, p. 134.

in 1931.

BHK 3rd edition has two main problems: one is the problem of the textual basis and the other is the problem of the Septuagint in the apparatus criticus.¹⁾

P.Kahle explained the basic text of this BHK 3rd edition:

"Rudolph Kittel and I had hoped to be able to replace the Leningrad MS.L., which was used as the basis of the Biblia Hebraica in the course of our work, with the model codex of ben Asher himself which is kept in the synagogue of the Sephardim in Aleppo. That has not been possible since the owners of the codex would not hear of a photographic copy."²⁾

After examining the investigation of the work of Mischael ben 'Uzziel on the differences between ben Asher and ben Naphtali, P.Kahle reached the following conclusion:

"We are therefore justified in using the Leningrad MS.B 19A (L) as the basis of the new edition of the Biblia Hebraica."³⁾

- 1) Concerning the problem of Septuagint in the apparatus criticus: H.M.Orlinsky, "The Septuagint - Its Use in Textual Criticism", BA 9, 1946, pp. 21-34, p. 33.

Current Progress in Septuagint Research, in The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow, ed. H.R.Willoughby, Chicago, 1947, pp. 144-161, p. 151.

W.P.M.Walters (P.Katz), "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century", in C.H.Dodd-Festschrift, Background of the N.T. and Its Eschatology, Cambridge, 1956, pp. 176-208.

Prof. J.Ziegler of Würzburg and Dr. H.P.Rüger of Tübingen have joined the BHS project acting as consultants for questions of Septuagint and Targum in the apparatus criticus.

- 2) Biblia Hebraica 3 ed. by R.Kittel, P.Kahle, (1937), 1954, p. xxix.
- 3) *ibid.*, p. xxxi.

When I compared the Jeremiah ch.2 of the BHK 3rd edition with Jeremiah 1:1-2:29 (T.S. 12, 197) - a Biblical MS. written with the so-called Palestinian punctuation, which preceded the Tiberian in Palestine, and a part of the Taylor-Schechter Collection in the Cambridge University Library - I concluded that the differences are very few and only in 'matres Lectionis'.¹⁾

In these circumstances, I believe that there is no difficulty in using the Biblia Hebraica 3rd edition (BHK 3) in my research on 'the Book of Jeremiah Chapter 2'.

1) cf. Appendix A. Differences between BHK 3 and T-S 12. p.15.

APPENDIX A.Differences between BHK 3 and T-S 12

	<u>BHK 3</u>	<u>Cambridge T-S 12</u> ¹⁾	
Jer.2:7	ותבאר	ותבואר	Scriptio plena
8	והנביאים	והנבאים	Scriptio defectiva
11	ההימיר	ההמיר	Scriptio defectiva
15	כפירים	כפירים	Scriptio plena
17	מוליכך	מוללך	Scriptio defectiva
20	אעבד	אעבוד	Scriptio plena
21	שרק	שורק	Scriptio plena

Hebrew Old Testament, ed. by N.H.Snaith, London, 1958.

The new edition of the British and Foreign Bible Society Hebrew Bible edited by N.H.Snaith (1958) likewise returns to the ben Asher tradition as it is preserved in the original hand of British Museum Manuscript Or 2626-8, written in Lisbon in 1482, and in manuscript Or 2375.²⁾

N.H.Snaith agrees with BHK 3 except in v.21 when it reads
Scriptio plena : שורק

1) Paul Kahle, Masoreten des Westens II. Stuttgart, 1930, pp. 78-81.

He explains that these are remains of MSS. which date from the sixth to the eighth centuries. (Jer. 1:1-2:29). See p.14.

2) N.H.Snaith, "The Ben-Asher Text", Textus 2, 1962, pp. 8-13.

3. The Septuagint Text and the Book of Jeremiah.

One of the most important results of the discovery of the Dead Sea Scrolls has been the revival of interest in the study of the Greek text of the Old Testament. This text is customarily called the 'Septuagint' (in Latin: Septuaginta), often designated simply as LXX, because, according to a tradition preserved in the Letter of Aristeas,¹⁾ it was translated by seventy (to be precise, seventy-two) Jewish scholars, brought from Jerusalem to Alexandria for this purpose.

a. The Kaige Recension in Jeremiah Ch.2.

In Jeremiah ch.2, we can detect examples of the so-called Kaige Recension (Καίγε KR) - (Jer. 2:33, 34) - in the Greek translation of Aquila. Jerome, writing about A.D.400 in his preface to Chronicles,²⁾ mentioned that there were three recensions of the Septuagint (trifaria varietas).³⁾ The different provinces of the ancient church had their own particular Biblical text of the Septuagint: the Hexaplaric recension in Palestine, the Hesychian Recension in Egypt⁴⁾ and the Lucianic recension in Antioch.

1) Concerning recent studies on this subject:

D.W.Gooding, "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins", VT. 13, 1963, pp. 357-379.

A.F.J.Klijn, "The Letter of Aristeas and the Greek Translation of the Pentateuch in Egypt", NTS 11, 1964-65, pp. 154-158.

S.Jellicoe, "The Occasion and Purpose of the Letter of Aristeas, A Re-Examination", NTS 13, 1965-66, pp. 144-150.

2) Jerome, "Preface to Chronicles" (Printed at the beginning of the Vulgate).

3) S.Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, Oxford, 1968, p. 137f.

4) A.Sperber, "The Problem of the Septuagint Recensions", JBL 54, 1935, pp. 73-92.

Recent studies shed new light upon the recension-problem.

- D.Barthélemy posits a 'Kaige' (Καίγῃ) recension.¹⁾
- F.M.Cross accepts this theory of a 'Kaige' group.²⁾
- J.D.Shenkel follows them in his study on the 'Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings'.³⁾

- 1) Dominique Barthélemy, Les Devanciers d'Aquila, SVT 10, 1963.

J.D.Shenkel, Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings, 1968, pp. 11-18.

- 2) F.M.Cross, CQD, IEJ 16, 1966, pp. 84-85.

"The Hebrew textual families have left clearest traces in the Greek Bible. We are able to trace a series of as many as three stages in the recensional history of the Septuagint before the emergence of the Massoretic Text.

The Old Greek preserves a non-traditional text-type which is represented at Qumrân, - especially 4Q Jer(b).

In the second or first century B.C., the Septuagint was revised in Palestine to conform to a Hebrew text then current, represented at Qumrân by the manuscripts of Samuel from Cave IV: this is the Proto-Lucian recension of the Greek. -

No later than the beginning of the first century A.D. portions of the Greek Bible were revised a second time, this time to the Proto-Massoretic Text. This Greek recension, called Proto-Theodotian or Kaige, is extensively preserved in a manuscript of the Minor Prophets from the Nahal Hever. In Jeremiah, its text-type is preserved in Hebrew in 4Q Jer(a), in Greek in the supplementary additions to the old Greek. These three stages in the History of the Greek Bible, the Old Greek, the Proto-Lucianic recension, and the Kaige recension reflect in turn the three families of the Hebrew text isolated in the finds at Qumrân. Proto-Massoretic Text, a fourth stage may be discerned, represented by the Hebrew text-type, - reflected in Greek in the revision of the Kaige recension prepared by Aquila in ca. 130 A.D." (pp. 84-85)

See further Appendix C. pp.26-27.

- 3) J.D.Shenkel, op. cit., pp. 11-18.
He says that "this Greek expression (kaige for Hebrew ' קלל ') is used as a designation, but also occurs in the two later versions, those of Aquila and Theodotion, both of which were based upon the Kaige R."

Concerning the book of Jeremiah ch.2, 'Kaige' occurs in the translation of Aquila which was preserved in the Hexapla.¹⁾ In Jeremiah ch.2:33, 34, Aquila translated Hebrew ' קל ' into Greek ' Καίς '. It seems that at least the text of Jeremiah in Aquila's translation strongly supports the 'Kaige' recension theory.

b. The Book of Jeremiah - Ziegler's Edition in the Göttingen Septuagint.

The most satisfactory edition of the Septuagint Text of Jeremiah is to be found in the larger Göttingen Septuagint published in 1957 under the editorship of Joseph Ziegler.²⁾

- 1) Origenis Hexaplorum quae supersunt, ed. F.Field, I-II, Oxford, 1875-6.

Origen's Hexapla (A.D. 185-254) was produced in Caesarea between 240-245 by Origen. The contents of the six columns are arranged as follows:

1. the Hebrew text,
2. the Hebrew text transcribed in Greek,
3. the translation of Aquila,
4. of Symmachus,
5. the Septuagint,
6. of Theodotion.

(cf. B.J.Roberts, op. cit., pp. 130f., S.Jellicoe, op. cit., pp. 100ff.)

- 2) Septuaginta Ieremias, Baruch, Threni, Epistula Ieremiae, edited by Joseph Ziegler, Göttingen, 1957.

J. Ziegler classified the Greek manuscripts¹⁾ and old translations²⁾ into six groups:

1. B-Text (Codex-Vaticanus) Group - B.S.La.
2. A-Text (Codex-Alexandrianus) Group - A.Arab.
3. Q-Text (Codex-Marchalianus) Group - Q.V.
4. Hexaplaric Recension Group - Syh = O.
5. Lucianic Recension Group - L', Chr., Tht.
6. Catena Group - C'

In group (1), S. (Codex-Sinaiticus) is placed along with B. with which it is in general agreement. Group (2) consists of variants most of which are grammatico-stylistic and unimportant. "The outstanding features of this group are held to be the pluses against MT and word-changes. Group (3) is distinguished in the

1) In Die griechischen Zeugen -

1. The Uncials,

A. London, Brit. Mus.	'Codex Alexandrinus'.
B. Rom, Bibl. Vat.	'Codex Vaticanus'.
Q. Rom, Bibl. Vat.	'Codex Marchalianus'.
S. Leningrad	'Codex Sinaiticus'
	(Now in London, Brit. Mus.).
V. Venedig, Bibl. Marc.	'Codex Venetus'.
2. 37 cursives and the papyri 951, 966 and 980.
(Frg.449 contains Jer.1:1-3:20, Mailand, Bibl. Ambr.)
3. Greek fathers' commentaries.
(Chr) J.Chrysostomus (-407) 'Fragmenta in Jeremiam' Migne PG 64, 739-1038.
(Tht) Theodoret von Cyrus (-460) Migne PG 81, 495-806.

2) In Die alten Übersetzungen -

- | | |
|-------|---|
| La. | Die altlateinische Übersetzung. |
| Co. | Die koptische Übersetzung. |
| Sy. | Die syrische Übersetzung, (Syh, Syp, Sy). |
| Aeth. | Die äthiopische Übersetzung. |
| Arab. | Die arabische Übersetzung. |
| Arm. | Die armenische Übersetzung. |

In/...

main for readings in common with the Hexaplaric recension."¹⁾

J.Ziegler used the B-S texts as the basic text for his edition of "Ieremias - Septuaginta".

We must compare Ziegler's text with Swete's (Cambridge 1894) and Rahlfs' (Stuttgart, 1935) Editions to find out the characteristics of Ziegler's Edition.²⁾

In the Book of Jeremiah ch.2, the text of Ziegler differs twelve times from the edition of H.B.Swete which follows the Codex Vaticanus (B). In four cases Ziegler followed 'S.A.Q.' where they differ from B.³⁾

v. 2.	σου τοῦ	S ^{ca} , S ^{cb} , A.Q.	(B : αὐτοῦ).
v.20.	omit σοι	: S.A.Qa.	(with ' σοι ' : B.Q. V. Syh. L'.Tht).
v.22.	πόαν	S.A.Qa.	(B.Q.: ποίαν).
v.28.	with σε	: S.A.Qa.	(B. omit 'se').

.../In Die jüngeren griechischen Übersetzungen he mentions 11, such as Q. Codex Marchalianus, Codex Barberinus (86), Syrohexapla (Syh).

1) S.Jellicoe, The Septuagint and Modern Study, Oxford, 1968, p. 301.

2) See Appendix B. Differences in the editions of the Septuagint. - Jeremiah Ch.2. -

3) This is according to the Textual apparatus in Swete's Edition.

Ziegler did not mention in his textual apparatus his critical reasons for his choice of the readings in these 4 cases, even though they are different from Codex B.

In one case Ziegler follows the Major Manuscript traditions including the correctors of B against original B.

v. 9 with λέγει κύριος : B^{ab}, S^{ca}, A.Q.L', Tht.¹⁾ (B. omits them).

In one case he follows Katz.

v. 36 ' ὅτι ' (Rahlfs: τί , Swete: ὅτι).

In two cases he follows H.J. Thackeray's suggestion: (vv. 20, 22).²⁾

v. 20, ' πάντα ' instead of ' πᾶν ' (Rahlfs, Swete: B.S.Q.)

v. 22 ' πόαν ' instead of ' ποίαν ' (Swete: B.Q.)³⁾

In two cases he omits the article on weak evidence.

v. 26 '() υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ' (Rahlfs and Swete: with ' οἱ ' B. reliqui.)

v. 27 ' ἐν () καιρῷ ' (Rahlfs and Swete: with ' τῷ ' B. reliqui.)

Other cases: three.

v. 3 ' λέγει ' : O. L. Tht. Ps. Th. Chr. (' φησὶν ' Rahlfs, Swete reliqui.)

1) Ziegler mentions L', Tht. (In Hexapla, O' omits).
Swete: B^{ab}, S^{ca}, A.Q.

2) H.J. Thackeray, Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1909.
On v. 20 - p. 175.
On v. 22 - p. 93.

3) v. 22 is mentioned above : following S.A.Q.

v. 7 ' εἰσάγων ' : S.Q.Cyr. Tht. (' ἤγαγον ')

Swete : B.A.)

v. 36 ' κατασχύνθης ' B^{ab}, Q (with Rahlfs), ' κατατοσχύνθης '

: Swete : B.S.A.)

APPENDIX B.

Differences in the Editions of the Septuagint.

- Jeremiah chapter 2 -

<u>v.</u>	<u>Ziegler</u> ¹⁾	<u>Rahlfs</u> ²⁾	<u>Swete</u> ³⁾
2	σου τοῦ S.A.Q.	** ⁴⁾	αὐτοῦ B.
3	λέγει O-L, Tht	= ⁵⁾	φησὶν Rel. ⁶⁾
6	ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖ B.A.	ἐκεῖ υἱὸς ἀνθρώπου	**
		S.Q.V.	
7	εἰσάγαγον S.Q.	**	ἡγαγον B-A.
	Cyr. Tht		
9	ὑμᾶς, λέγει κύριος	**	ὑμᾶς, - καὶ B.
	S.A.Q.		
13	δύο καὶ B.	δύο - S.	**
20	ἐπὶ πάντα	=	ἐπὶ πᾶν B.S.Q.
20	ὅς δουλεύσω S.A.Qa	**	+ σοι, B.Q.V.L'
22	πόαν S.A.Qa	**	ποίαν B.
26	υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ O.	=	οἱ + B.Rel.
27	ἐν καιρῷ	=	ἐν τῷ καιρῷ Rel.
28	σώσουσί σε S.A.Q.	**	σώσουσιν B.Tht.
36	ὅ τι Katz.	τί	ὅτι Rel.
36	καθὼς κατησχύνθης	**	καθὼς καταισχύνθης
	B ^{ab} , Q.		B.S.A.

1) Joseph Ziegler (ed.) Ieremias, Septuaginta, Göttingen, 1957.
This is 'Septuaginta' in Göttingen major editio.

2) A.Rahlfs (ed.), Septuaginta, Stuttgart, 1935.
This edition is Göttingen minor editio in two volumes.
It depends in the main on the three chief manuscripts B.S.A.
with/...

Continuation of APPENDIX B.

.../a short apparatus criticus.

- 3) H.B.Swete (ed.), The Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1894.
This is 'Septuagint' in Cambridge minor editio. This edition consists of three volumes (1887-1894) which prints codex Vaticanus (B), using S.A.Q. in the apparatus.
- 4) ** : This sign indicates a reading identical with Ziegler's edition.
- 5) = : This sign indicates an identical reading in Rahlfs' and Swete's edition.
- 6) Reliqui.

APPENDIX C.

The Problem of the Ur-Text of the Septuagint.

There are at least four theories concerning the origin and the early history of the Septuagint.

(i) The theory of de Lagarde (1827-1891).

This theory is called the 'Vorlage-, Ur-Text-, Ur-Septuaginta-, Proto-Septuaginta'-theory.

The principles governing his investigations into the Proto-Septuagint are set out in his book. He hoped by the application of the principle to effect a reconstruction of the 'trifaria varietas' as the first stage in the recovery of the original LXX. He published the Lucianic reconstruction of Genesis to Esther in 1883.¹⁾ Rahlfs followed de Lagarde's approach to the task of recovering the proto-Septuagint. This theory is still accepted by many scholars (Margolis, Montgomery, Orlinsky, Ziegler, Roberts).²⁾

1) Librorum Vet. Test. Canonicorum pars prior graece, 1883, ed. Paul A. de Lagarde.

2) M.L. Margolis (1866-1932), The Book of Joshua in Greek, Paris, 1931.

H.M. Orlinsky, "On the Present State of Proto-LXX Studies", JAOS 61, 1941, 81-91. "The Septuagint - Its Use in Textual Criticism", BA 9, 1946, pp. 21-34. "Current Progress and Problem in LXX Research", in SBTT, 1947, pp. 144-161.

B.J. Roberts, The Old Testament Text and Versions, 1955, Cardiff.

(ii) The theory of P.Kahle (1875-1965).

This is called the 'Greek Targum theory of Septuagint-origin' in opposition to the theory of de Lagarde.¹⁾

P.Kahle presents the theory that the history of the LXX does not begin with a proto-text, but with various targumic renderings of the vulgar Hebrew text. The Letter of Aristeas - neither a letter, nor written as it claims by Aristeas in the third century B.C., but an example of second century B.C. Jewish apologetic literature - is propaganda for an official version of the Torah sponsored by Alexandrian Judaism towards the end of the second century B.C. to replace an existing confused textual situation.²⁾

The recent textual discoveries in the Judaeen desert have vindicated the essential soundness of the Lagardian position, as opposed to that of P.Kahle.

D.Barthélemy's study³⁾ on the Greek fragments of the Dead Sea Scrolls of the Minor Prophets arrives at results quite different from those of P.Kahle. He values these fragments as testimony to a stage in the evolution of the translation of the LXX not hitherto attested. He sees them as evidence of a sporadic revision of the text of the Greek in accordance with the MT undertaken by a Jew in the first century A.D. This revised text was then taken over by

1) Paul Kahle, The Cairo Geniza, Oxford, 2nd, 1959, pp. 212ff.

2) cf. R.Davidson, The Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, Vol.3, Biblical Criticism, 1970, p. 109.

3) Dominique Barthélemy, Les Devanciers d'Aquila, SVT 10, 1963.

Aquila, Symmachus and also Theodotion. He designated them as 'the Kaige Recension Group' and the 'Kaige Recension' (KR) might be considered as proto-Aquila, or proto-Theodotion. It is distinguished from the Old Greek and proto-Lucian, and shows greater conformity to the MT. D.Barthelemy concludes that the KR. was a revision toward a Hebrew Vorlage of the same type as the MT.¹⁾

(iii) The liturgical approach-theory of H.St.John Thackeray.

In his book The Septuagint and Jewish Worship²⁾, he argued that the real impetus towards the rendering of the rest of the Old Testament into Greek came from worship in the synagogue and the growth of a Jewish lectionary system. The translation of the Prophets was done for lectionary use as a 'second lesson' in the synagogue, in addition to a reading from the Torah which was fundamental to synagogue worship. Such translations were later incorporated into what became a translation of the Old Testament as a whole.³⁾

(iv) The transcription theory of F.X.Wutz (1883-1938).⁴⁾

The theory that translators used a Hebrew Text transliterated

1) cf. J.D.Shenkel, Chronology and Recensional Development in the Greek Text of Kings, 1968, pp. 11-18.

2) H.St.John Thackeray, The Septuagint and Jewish Worship, London, 1921.

3) cf. R.Davidson, op. cit., pp. 108-109.

4) F.X.Wutz, Systematische Wege von der Septuaginta zum hebräischen Urtext, Stuttgart, 1937.

into Greek Characters underlies the so-called 'Transcription Theory'.

H.M.Orlinsky summarises critical response to the theory when he states "the transcription theory has already become nothing more than a curiosity".¹⁾

1) H.M.Orlinsky, "Current Progress and Problem in Septuagint Research," in SBTT, Chicago, 1947, pp. 144-161, p. 156.

B. Comparative Study of MT and LXX.

It has long been recognised that a comparison of the Hebrew (MT) and Greek (LXX) textual traditions is of peculiar interest in the Book of Jeremiah.¹⁾ Comparative textual study of the MT and the LXX in the book of Jeremiah has been undertaken by several scholars.²⁾

The divergence between MT and LXX consists in differences in arrangement³⁾ and in omissions or additions. The striking example of a different arrangement concerns the oracles against foreign nations.⁴⁾ The text of Jeremiah in the LXX translation is approximately one eighth shorter than that of the MT.⁵⁾

1) Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt, ed. F. Field, Oxford, 1875. Origen in Ep. ad Afric, (Migne, p. 56, Patrol. Gri. 11).

2) G.C. Workman, The Text of Jeremiah, Edinburgh, 1889.

A. Scholz, Der masorethische Text und die LXX-Übersetzung des Buches Jeremias, Regensburg, 1875.

A.W. Streane, The double text of Jeremiah, Cambridge, 1896.

P. Voltz, Studien zum Text des Jeremia, Leipzig, 1920.

W. Rudolph, "Zum Text des Jeremia", ZAW 48, 1930, pp. 272-286.

L. Köhler, "Beobachtungen am hebr. und griech. Text von Jeremia, Kap. 1-9", ZAW 29, 1909, pp. 1-39.

J. Ziegler, Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta, Göttingen, 1958.

3) The comparative list of the different order between MT and LXX: Ieremias-Septuaginta, ed. Ziegler, p. 147. See Appendix D.

4) MT : 46-51, + 25:15-38; LXX : 25:14-51. See further Appendix D.

5) F. Giesebrecht, Das Buch Jeremia, HK, Göttingen, 1907, p. xxv. "Die starken Abweichungen der LXX vom hebr. Text bedürfen einer Erklärung. Ungefähr 2700 Worte des hebr. Textes fehlen beim Alexandr., während er dem Hebr. gegenüber nur einige 100 Worte mehr hat."

C. In Jer. 36 (MT) this phrase (B-C) occurs very often
(vv. 6, 10, 13, 14, 15: - קרא באזני), and the LXX
uses a formal translation for them :

: LXX ch.43 = MT 36).

ii. 2:20. 2^e

MT. לא זרועה (B) במדבר בארץ (A)

LXX. τῷ ἀγίῳ Ἰσραὴλ, λέγει κύριος

The MT is here (A) also paralleled in v.6. The LXX shows
a difference based probably on a double reading of v.3, or a
different recension.

2 - Addition in the LXX. (Omission in the MT)

2:28b.

MT. -

LXX. καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν διόδων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔθουον
τῇ Βααλ.

The LXX here seems to be different because of a free
transcription from Jer. 11:13.⁴⁾

3 - Word addition in MT.

i. 2:7 MT. לא-ארץ הכרמל

LXX. εἰς τὸν Κάρμηλον.

In LXX there is no equivalent of the word ' ארץ '. There
are two possible explanations of this difference.

1) For detail cf. p. 45.

- (i) This is an interpretative addition on the part of MT.¹⁾
- (ii) The Septuagint takes the reference here locally and applies it to Carmel, not just to the 'fruitful land'. This implies a text in which 'land' was omitted, where there was possibly the simple identification of the land in which the Israelites settled as 'Carmel'.²⁾

An emphasis on ' ארץ ' seems characteristic of the MT tradition in Jeremiah ch.2.³⁾

ii. The name of YHWH.

v.19. **M.T** נאם אדני יהוה צבאות

LXX. λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

The YHWH's oracle formula ' נאם אדני יהוה צבאות '(MT)⁴⁾ occurs only three times in the MT of the book of Jeremiah. In these cases LXX has the simple formula

εἶπε κύριος (LXX.30:5 MT.49:5)

λέγει κύριος (LXX.27:31 MT50:31).

It is possible to imagine that ' צבאות ' (hosts) is a later insertion; the MT tradition has a tendency to emphasize 'YHWH of hosts' in connection with judgement speeches against foreign nations.

1) A.Scholz, op. cit., pp. 35-36.

A.W.Streane, op. cit., p. 36.

2) P.H.Williams, The Fatal and Foolish Exchange; Living water for "Nothings", Texas, 1965, p. 24.

3) See further, pp. 41, 81-82.

4) cf. further, pp. 107f., 134f. (Appendix A.)

v.22. M.T. נאם אדני יהוה

LXX. λέγει κύριος

This YHWH's oracle formula ' נאם אדני יהוה ' (MT) appears only once in the book of Jeremiah, but is more common in the book of Ezekiel.¹⁾ The word ' אדני ' may be a later insertion.

iii. The poor.

v.34a. M.T. דם נפשות אבירונים נקיים

LXX. αἵματα ψυχῶν ἀθῶων

The LXX has no Greek word for ' אבירונים ' of Hebrew. Some scholars have followed the LXX in their translation, omitting this Hebrew word (so B.Duhm, W.Rudolph, A.Weiser, J.Bright, etc.).²⁾ In BHK 3rd, W.Rudolph suggested emending to read ' נבליאים ',³⁾ and so connecting with v.30, and A.Weiser agrees that this is a possibility. A.W.Streane explains that the Hebrew may well be a gloss⁴⁾ and J.A.Soggin agrees that it must be a later gloss.⁵⁾ J.P.Hyatt said that it "refers to social injustice by which the poor were oppressed".⁶⁾

- 1) F.Baumgärtel, "Zu den Gottesnamen in Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel", in Rudolph-Festschrift, Verbannung und Heimkehr, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 1-29.
- 2) B.Duhm, Das Buch Jeremia, KHC, Tübingen, 1901.
W.Rudolph, Jeremia, Tübingen, HAT, 1947, p. 18.
A.Weiser, Der Prophet Jeremia, ATD, Göttingen, 1952, p. 14.
J.Bright, Jeremiah, Anc.B., New York, 1965, p. 13.
- 3) BHK 3rd edition, by W.Rudolph.
- 4) A.W.Streane, op. cit., p. 48.
- 5) J.A.Soggin, "Einige Bemerkungen über Jeremias, 2:34", VT 8, 1958, pp. 433-435.
- 6) J.P.Hyatt, "Jeremiah", IB. Vol.5, 1956.

In the book of Jeremiah the care of the poor is mentioned in particular, in reference to king Josiah (Jer. 22:16)¹⁾ and moreover in (Ur-) Deuteronomy it is emphasized repeatedly (Dt. 15:4, 7, 9, 11; 24:12, 14).

b. Double readings in MT and LXX.

1 - Double readings in the MT.

2:17-18. MT. ועתה מה-לך לדרך (B) בעת מוליכך בדרך (A)
LXX. (A) - (B) καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σου καὶ ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ σου

The phrase A (v. 17) is not found in the LXX. W.Rudolph suggested that it is a 'dittography' in the MT.²⁾ J.Bright comments that it (A) "may be a corrupt dittography of the first words of v.18".³⁾ J.G.Janzen said that "more likely, the MT conflates (B) with a variant tradition (A), which developed from a misreading of ' ועתה מה-לך לדרך ' under the influence of the preceding verse 6 ' המוליך אתנו במדבר '.⁴⁾

It seems to me that this double reading indicates an explanatory gloss added by the MT-redactionist to define the meaning of the "way" of Israel: i.e. to indicate 'which way they ought to walk'.

1) In the Book of Jeremiah (MT) the word אֶלְכִיךָ ' occurs four times: Jer. 2:34; 5:28; 20:13; 22:16. cf. Lisowsky, p.12.

2) W.Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, p. 14, BHK 3rd edition.

3) J.Bright, op. cit., p. 9.

4) J.G.Janzen, "Double readings in the Text of Jeremiah", MThR 60, 1967, p. 435.

2 - Double reading in LXX.

vv.2-3. LXX. (A) τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραηλ, λέγει κύριος.

(B) ἅγιος Ἰσραηλ τῷ κυρίῳ,

MT. (A) (לכתך אחרי) במדבר בארץ לא זרועה

(B) קדש ישראל ליהוה

This phrase A in the LXX is not found in the MT, but the MT contains another quite different phrase. Rahlfs read¹⁾ ' ἅγιος Ἰσραηλ ' (v.3 : (B)) as an apposition to the preceding word ' κύριος ' : λέγει κύριος ἅγιος Ἰσραηλ . This would make the punctuation rather difficult. L.Köhler explained²⁾ ' τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραηλ ' from the ' י ' of ' לכתך אחרי ' interpreting ' י ' as an abbreviation for ' יהוה ' . In support of this Jer. 3:16 may be cited where ' ἁγίου Ἰσραηλ ' is used to render ' יהוה ' . J.Ziegler concludes that "Der Teil in v.3 scheint sekundär zu sein",³⁾ so he puts this phrase (ἅγιος Ἰσραηλ τῷ κυρίῳ) into () in his edition.⁴⁾

It seems to me that this double reading reveals the characteristic understanding of the LXX-translators concerning the name of YHWH, i.e. as 'the Holy One of Israel'.⁵⁾

1) Septuaginta, ed. A.Rahlfs, Stuttgart, 1935.

2) L.Köhler, op. cit., ZAW 29, pp. 28-30.

3) J.Ziegler, op. cit., p. 93.

4) Septuaginta, Ieremias, ed. J.Ziegler, Göttingen, 1957, p. 153.

5) cf. H.S.Gehman, "' ἅγιος ' in the LXX and its relation to the Hebrew Original", VT 4, 1954, pp. 337-348.

See further, pp. 43-44.

2:29. MT.

כלכם פשעתם בי

LXX. πάντες ὑμεῖς ἡσεβήσατε καὶ πάντες ὑμεῖς ἡνομήσατε εἰς ἐμέ

BHK 3rd notes 'G.L.: versio duplex'. 'עשׂ' is translated by 'ἡσεβεῖν' in v.8, 3:13 and elsewhere, and by 'ἡνομεῖν' in Is. 43:27; Job. 35:6. In Am. 4:4, 'עשׂ' is translated by 'ἡνομήσατε' (W.A.O.O.L.) and 'ἡσεβήσατε' (B.V.C.)¹⁾. It is therefore possible that the LXX text represents a double translation. J.Ziegler explained that "Da der Übers. ἡσεβεῖν auch 2:8, 3:13 verwendet, könnte das zweite Glied sekundär sein".²⁾

It is also possible to imagine that our present LXX text is based on a Vorlage of the LXX which has 'כלכם רשעתם וכלכם פשעתם בי' (So P.Volz³⁾).

Since double readings are found elsewhere in the LXX recension of Jeremiah,⁴⁾ this seems the more likely explanation in this case.

c. Transpositions in LXX.

2:19. MT.

רעתך (B)

משבותיך (A)

LXX.

(A)

ἡ κακία σου

(B)

ἡ ἀποστασία σου

The proper renderings (משבותיך = ἡ ἀποστασία σου, רעה = ἡ κακία) are transposed in LXX. A.Scholz considers them to be

1) A.W.Streane, op. cit., 1896, p. 46.

J.Ziegler, Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta, Göttingen, 1958, p. 90.

2) J.Ziegler, op. cit., p. 90.

3) P.Volz, Studien zum Text des Jeremia, p. 12.

4) cf. J.G.Janzen, op. cit., pp. 433-447.

errors of 'ear' in dictation.¹⁾ A.W.Streane explained them as transpositions which appear to have been made for the sake of sound. (Greek sound).²⁾

2:32. MT. כלה (B) בתולה (A)
LXX. (A) νύμφη (B) παρθένος

A.W.Streane explained them as transpositions due to a confusion of the Hebrew sounds כ and ב³⁾. The proper rendering (בתולה = παρθένος , כלה = νύμφη) are transposed in LXX.

d. Alterations in the MT or the LXX.

v.17 - M.T. עזבך את-יהוה אלהיך
LXX. τὸ καταλιπεῖν σε ἐμέ; λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου.
v.19b - M.T. עזבך את־יהוה אלהיך
LXX. τὸ καταλιπεῖν σε ἐμέ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

v.17 and v.19b are parallel passages. In each verse there are the same differences between the MT and the LXX: i.e. in both verses the LXX adds ἐμέ and λέγει. A.W.Streane suggested that ' λέγει ' has been added in both cases under the influence of the ' נאם ' in the last part of v.19(c).⁴⁾

1) A.Scholz, op. cit.

2) A.W.Streane, op. cit., pp. 19, 39.

3) A.W.Streane, op. cit., p. 48.

4) A.W.Streane, op. cit., pp. 38-39.

vv.30b-31a. MT. יהוה אתם ראו דבר-יהוה (B) - (A)

LXX. (A) καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθητε

(B) ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου Τάδε λέγει κύριος

In (B) the LXX preserves a common prophetic proclamation formula: ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου Τάδε λέγει κύριος (Jer. 2:4-5; 10:1-2; 17:20-21; 21:11-12 etc.)¹⁾.

The MT repeats the word (ראו) in vv. 10, 10, 19, 23, 31, and the term ' יהוה ' with the meaning 'crooked generation' is paralleled in Dt. 32:20, Ps. 78:8, 8; Jer. 7:29.

Both the MT and the LXX each existed in more than one recension.

J.Bright comments that in the MT (B) "seems to be a marginal comment by a later reader".²⁾

vv.23b-24a. MT. בכרה קלה משרכת דרכיה (B) פרה למד מדבר (A)

LXX. (A) ὅψε φωνὴ αὐτῆς ὠλόλυξε,

(B) τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς ἐπλάτυνεν ἐφ' ὕδατα ἐρήμου,

W.Rudolph³⁾ suggested reading (B) as ' פרצה למדבר ' ('ausbricht in die Steppe hinaus') following L.Köhler.⁴⁾

In (A) the LXX may have misread בכרה קלה as בערב קולה (in the evening her voice).

Even so there is no word corresponding to the Hebrew ' דרכיה '

1) cf.p.119 in this thesis: proclamation formula. Ch.III.

2) J.Bright, *op. cit.*, p. 13, note.

3) BHK 3rd ed., W.Rudolph, *Jeremia*, HAT, p. 16.

4) L.Köhler, *op. cit.*, p. 35.
cf. W.L.Holladay, "The young Camel and wild Ass in Jer.2:23-25", VT 18, 1968, pp. 256-260.

in the LXX-translation. In this example of variant readings, the MT recension has more emphasis on ' 777 ' (vv.23, 17).

2. The Characteristics of the MT.

The MT of the book of Jeremiah has its own transmission history between the writing of the 'Ur-Scroll' (Jer. 36:4) and A.D.70.¹⁾

We can find some stages of 'scribal correction', alteration and addition in Jeremiah ch.2.

a. Scribal correction.

C.D.Ginsburg pointed out 'the emendation of the Sopherim' in Jeremiah 2:11, and explained this as follows:²⁾

"The ancient records emphatically declare that the original reading here was: 'but my people hath changed (7777) my glory' and that the Sopherim altered it into: 'but my people hath changed (7777) his glory'."

The expression 7777 glory was considered to denote the visible manifestation of the Deity: i.e. the Shechinah. To say, therefore, that the Israelites changed this Supreme glory for an idol was deemed too bold a statement and derogatory to the Lord."

This is 'one of the eighteen emendations of the Sopherim'.³⁾

1) T.H.Robinson, "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42, 1924, pp. 209-221.

C.Rietzschel, Das Problem der Urroll, 1966.

M.H.Goshen-Gottstein, op. cit., HUBP.

2) C.D.Ginsburg, op. cit., pp. 347-363, p. 356.
cf. The Scribal correction, in this thesis, p. 10.

3) ibid., p. 347.

The Ancient Versions exhibit this alteration of the Sopherim which is also followed both in the Authorized Version and R.V., and by most scholars.¹⁾

b. Peculiar Forms of Hebrew Particles.

In Jeremiah ch.2 there are some peculiar forms of Hebrew words, due in particular, to the use of 'scriptio plena'.

v.35b "ארתך"²⁾, v.25b, 31 "לרא", v.17: "הלרא".³⁾

This peculiar diction occurs in passages which indicate YHWH's judgement from the prophetic point of view. It is interesting that these forms are found in the prophetic tradition of Northern Israel.⁴⁾

1) BHK 3rd edition mentioned 'Tiq sop̄. pra. 'לללל'.

2) In the book of Jeremiah, ' - ארת' occurs in 2:35, 10:5, 16:8, 19:10, 20:11, 30:14. In the book of Hosea: 10:6.

S.R.Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, Edinburgh, 1913 (9th ed.), pp. 188-189.

He pointed out that ' ארת' occurs 12 times in I Kings 20-II Kings 8 (I Ki. 20:25-22:7, 8, 24; II Ki. 1:15, 3:11, 12, 26, 6:16, 8:8).

H.M.Orlinsky, "The Hebrew Root SKB", JBL 63, 1944, pp. 14-44. In this article he distinguishes " - ארת" from " - את" and says: "I see no alternative but to retain " - ארת" throughout as original and to render it like "ע" (with)." p. 26.

3) In the book of Jeremiah, ' לרא' occurs in 2:25, 31; 3:12; 4:11; 5:9, 12; 6:8; 7:28; 8:6, 19; 15:11; 29:23; 49:20.

' הלרא' in 2:17; 3:1, 4; 5:3; 7:19; 13:21; 22:15; 23:24, 29; 33:24; 35:13; 38:15; 44:21. (cf. Ex.33:16, 1 Sam. 12:17).

cf. S.Mandelkern, Concordantiae, 1955, Graz.

4) S.R.Driver, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

"These narratives (the prophetic narratives of Kings) are written mostly in a bright and chaste Hebrew style, though some of them exhibit slight peculiarities of diction, due doubtless (in part) to their North Israelitish origin. Their/...

c. Characteristics of the MT as seen in its additions.

In the differences between the MT and the LXX we may find the characteristics of MT tradition manifested in Jeremiah ch.2.

i. The Prophetic messenger speech formula. vv.1-2a.

In the MT there are additions of the 'revelation formula' and 'the Commissioning formula', which do not occur in the LXX. The MT tradition has a tendency to emphasize 'the prophet Jeremiah' repeatedly (MT. 37:2,6; 46:1, 13; 47:1; 49:34; 50:1; 51:59), but in the corresponding passages of the LXX¹⁾ the term 'prophet' (*προφήτης*) does not occur except in 28:59 (= MT. 51:59).

ii. Wilderness, the earth, the way.

v.2c - MT has the additional words 'במדבר בארץ לא'.

v.7 - MT has the additional word 'ארץ'.

v.17 - MT has the additional phrase ' בעת מוליכך בדרך '.

In Jeremiah ch.2, these words are repetitive, so these

.../authors were in all probability prophets, - in most cases, prophets belonging to the Northern Kingdom."

The linguistic evidence cited in note 1) (previous page) is suggestive in the light of the strong form-critical evidence of northern provenance for much of the material in this chapter (cf. Jer. 2:17, 25, 31, 35).

Cf. further : Chapter IV, pp. 201ff.

1)	MT. 37:2, 6	=	LXX. 44:2, 6	MT. 46:1, 13	=	LXX. 26:1, 13
	MT. 47:1	=	LXX. 29:1	MT. 49:34	=	LXX. 25:14
	MT. 50:1	=	LXX. 27:1	MT. 51:59	=	LXX. 28:59

additions in the MT seem to be elaborating glosses on Jeremiah's thought.

iii. YHWH of hosts.

v.19 - The MT has the additional word ' צבאות '.

The MT has a tendency to emphasize the name YHWH of Hosts, in relation to the judgement speech against foreign nations.

3. The Characteristics of LXX.

Increasing attention has been paid in recent years not only to the problems concerning the reconstructing of a definitive Septuagint text, but also to the character of the Septuagint as a translation.¹⁾

In his book²⁾ H.J.Thackeray made a classification of the LXX translation styles into 6 groups, and classed Jeremiah ch.1-28 in the 'indifferent Greek'-group which is intermediate between 'good koine Greek' and 'literal or unintelligent versions'.³⁾

1) Robert Davidson, op. cit., p. 110.

2) H.J.Thackeray, Grammar of the Old Testament in Greek, Cambridge, 1909.

3) ibid., pp. 12-13.

A. Translations. 1. Good koine Greek, 2. Indifferent Greek (Jer.a ch.1-28. Ez.a-b, with minor prophets), 3. Literal or unintelligent versions, (Jer.b: 29-51).

B. Paraphrases and free renderings, 4. Literary.

C. Free Greek, 5. Literary and Atticistic. 6. Vernacular.

He divided the book of Jeremiah into 3 groups by diversities of style. Jeremiah a. = ch.1:1 - 28:64 (51:64 MT)

Jeremiah b. = ch.29:1-51:35 (MT 45:5). Jeremiah c = ch.52. The two styles in Jeremiah a. and b. are quite unmistakable.

Even though there are many different styles, the Septuagint has characteristics and peculiarities of its own which can only be explained by the fact that it is translation Greek, preserving in Greek form many of the idioms, constructions and word meanings of the Hebrew which lies behind it.

H.S.Gehman insists that the Septuagint has a Hebraic character in its Greek, characterizing it as Jewish-Greek.

"It is wellknown that the Greek of the LXX is the koine, of which the colloquial element is amply illustrated from the papyri. Yet we have to admit that the language of the LXX is different in many ways from other koine Greek.

We can hardly avoid speaking of a Jewish-Greek, which was in use in the Synagogues and in religious circles.

The Hebraic character of LXX Greek, however, is not limited to syntax including a Semitic use of conjunctions, prepositions and pronouns; the vocabulary also was bound to be influenced by the Hebrew original. Certain Greek words had to be adapted to Old Testament usage, and in this way they received a meaning not found in classical or ordinary Hellenistic Greek."¹⁾

Now we must seek to examine the characteristics of the Septuagint and how it differs from the MT in its translation.

a. The LXX's characteristic understanding
of "YHWH" and "Jerusalem".

1 - YHWH as the Holy One of Israel.²⁾

In Jer.2:2 the LXX is different from the MT, reading 'to follow

1) H.S.Gehman, "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek", VT 1, 1951, pp. 81-90; p. 81, 87, (HCSG)

2) cf. H.S.Gehman, "'Αγιος' in the Septuagint and its Relation to the Hebrew Original", VT 4, 1954, pp. 337-348.

He mentions some Hebrew words which are rendered "āgios" in the LXX, such as אלהים (God) Jer.3:21, Is.60:9, Lev.18:21.

the Holy One of Israel' for the MT 'to follow Me in the wilderness, in the land not sown'.¹⁾

There are similar cases in Jeremiah 3:16 and 21:

3:16 - LXX. διαθήκης ἁγίου Ἰσραηλ ברית-יהוה MT.

21 - LXX. θεοῦ ἁγίου αὐτῶν יהוה אלהיהם MT.

In the judgement speech against the foreign nations YHWH manifests Himself as 'the Holy One of Israel', a phrase which is preserved in both LXX and MT.

(MT.50:29, יְהוָה יִשְׂרָאֵל - (א) LXX.27:29, θεὸς ἅγιον Ἰσραηλ)

(MT.51:5, יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת (מ) LXX.28:5, τῶν ἁγίων Ἰσραηλ)

In the Septuagint which was translated in Egypt (Alexandria), there is a tendency in the book of Jeremiah, to emphasize YHWH as 'the Holy One of Israel', because of the needs of the Jewish diaspora community in Egypt.²⁾

1) cf. See further, p. 31.

2) Concerning the 'Elephantine Papyri':

E.G.Kraeling, "New Light on the Elephantine Colony", BA 15, 1952, pp. 50-68. "Elephantine Papyri", IDB Vol. II, pp. 83-85.

G.R.Driver, Aramaic Documents of the Fifth Century B.C., 1954.

J.B.Prichard, ed. ANET (2nd ed., 1955), pp. 222-23.

R.Davidson, op. cit., Vol.3, pp. 66-68.

Elephantine papyri of the fifth century B.C. revealed that there was a colony of Hebrews at Elephantine (called Yeb) in Egypt. This colony had their temple of Yahu (YHWH). The religion of these Jews tended toward syncretism. A list of contributions for the cult of Yahu shows monetary gifts offered to other deities, Eshem-Bethel, and Anath-Bethel (cf. Jer. 48:13). For the goddess Anath-Bethel is also called Anath-Yahu (Anath, the female consort of Yahu).

In such a syncretistic environment it became imperative to stress the uniqueness of YHWH, and the uniqueness of His/...

2 - Sinful Jerusalem.

In Jer. 2:28b the LXX is very different from the MT, reading 'according to the number of the streets of Jerusalem they sacrificed to Baal', which does not occur in the MT and seems to be borrowed from Jer. 11:13 (=MT).¹⁾

In spite of its frequent use of language strongly condemning Jerusalem (as sinful Jerusalem), the LXX still has a feeling of nostalgia for Jerusalem, and looks forward to the coming of the New Jerusalem: (LXX. 4:2, the phrase 'by him they shall praise God in Jerusalem', is not in the MT.)²⁾

b. The LXX's Characteristic Translations.

1 - The translation of ' כִּי '.

In LXX ' ὅτι ' is a literalism for 'ki' (כִּי).³⁾ In Jeremiah ch.2, 'ki' is used in several ways (vv.10, 13, 20, 20, 22, 25, 27, 28, 34, 35, 37):

- i. introducing direct speech (v.35, no translation in LXX);
- ii. following a phrase with a negative (vv.20, 25, 34) -
not, but - in LXX v.20 'Οὐ - ἀλλὰ, v.34 'οὐκ - ἀλλ' ',
v.25 : ὅτι.

.../relationship with Israel. This double stress is made by using the term "the Holy One of Israel".

- 1) The LXX phraseology in Jer. 11:13 is different from that in Jer. 2:28b.
LXX 2:28b - καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν διόδων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἔθνον τῇ Βααλ.
LXX 11:13 - καὶ κατ' ἀριθμὸν ἐξόδων τῆς Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἐτάξατε βωμοὺς θυμιάν τῇ Βααλ.
- 2) LXX 4:2 - ἐν αὐτῷ αἰνέσουσι τῷ θεῷ ἐν Ἱερουσαλὴμ.
- 3) H.S.Gehman, op. cit., (HCSG), VT 1, 1951, p. 83.

- iii. the heading of a sentence (vv.10, 13, 20) in
 LXX. v.10: διότι; v.13: ὅτι; v.20: ὅτι; the
 heading of a subordinate clause (v.27: kai; 28: ὅτι).
 iv. with ' וְ ' (v.22: ἐάν).

As J.Muilenburg pointed out, perhaps the most notable illustration of the importance of the Hebrew particles is the morpheme 'וְ'.¹⁾ The Hebrew word 'וְ' is the deictic and emphatic particle, which performs a vast variety of functions and is susceptible of many different renderings.²⁾

2 - Translation of ' וְ '.

In most cases in the LXX, the Hebrew particle ' וְ ' is rendered 'kai', but in Aquila (and sometimes in Theodotion and Symmachus) 'kaige' (καίγε) was in use, from which is derived the designation 'kaige recension'.³⁾ In Jer.2, several occurrences of ' וְ ' (vv.16, 33, 34, 36, 37) are rendered by 'kai' (vv.16, 34, 36), ὅτι καὶ (v.37), and ἀλλὰ καὶ (v.33). In some cases Aquila renders by ' καίγε ' (vv.33, 34).⁴⁾

3 - The LXX's translation problems.

- i. The Translation of 'Rib' (רִיב) : vv.9, 9, 29.

- 1) J.Muilenburg, "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of the Particle 'וְ' in the Old Testament", HUCA 32, 1961, pp. 135-160, p. 136.
- 2) J.Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond", JBL 88, 1969, pp. 1-18, p. 14.
- 3) On the 'kaige recension': cf. see further, pp. 16-18.
- 4) Ieremias - Septuaginta, ed. J.Ziegler, p. 159. See further, p.18.

In the LXX, the Hebrew word 'Rib' is translated ' κριθήσομαι ' (v.9, 9) which is similar to the translation of ' רָיַב ' in v.35b (κρίνομαι). The LXX does not distinguish the meaning of 'Rib' from ' רָיַב '. In Jer.2:29, the LXX renders Rib as ' λαλεῖτε '. In both cases the particular meaning of 'Rib' is thereby obscured.¹⁾

ii. The Translation of ' רָיַב ' in v.5, (LXX πλημμέλημα).

This word ' רָיַב ' occurs here in a description of the nature of YHWH, as is the case also in Dt.32:4. In Dt.32:4, the LXX translated it by ' ἀδικία ' which is often used as the translation of ' רָיַב ' in the LXX. The Greek word ' πλημμέλημα ' is unusual as a translation of ' רָיַב ', but more usual for ' חָסַד ' (Jer.2:3b etc.).²⁾

There is no coherence between ' רָיַב ' (2:5) and ' חָסַד ' (2:3) in this context.

iii. The Translation of ' חָסַד חָסַד ' in v.25b.

The LXX translates this by ' ἀνδροσύμαι ' perhaps in misunderstanding. A similar example occurs in Jer.18:12. This peculiar Greek word occurs only twice in the LXX. The LXX translators did not grasp the negative sense of the phrase.

1) On the particular meaning of Rib, see further pp. 151f.

2) E.Hatch, H.A.Redpath, A Concordance to the LXX and the other Greek Versions of the Old Testament, 1897.

iv. The Translation of ' יכל ' in v.33b.

The LXX renders this by ' οὐχ οὕτως ' for ' יכל ' by an "error of hearing".¹⁾ Such misunderstandings are comparatively very few in the LXX of Jeremiah ch.2.

While some differences may be due to the LXX's misunderstanding or indeed to the needs of the Jewish diaspora community which produced the LXX, most of the differences between MT and LXX are based on the different recensions.

1) A.W.Streane, op. cit., p. 48.

APPENDIX D.MT and LXX Order of Jeremiah.¹⁾

<u>LXX</u>		<u>MT</u>		<u>MT</u>		<u>LXX</u>
1:1 - 25:13 ***		1:1 - 25:13		1:1 - 25:13 ***		1:1 - 25:13
25:14-26:1		49:34-39		25:15-38		32:1-24
26		46		26		33
27		50		27		34
28		51		28 - 43		35 - 50
29:1-7		47:1-7		44:1-30		51:1-30
29:8-23		49:7-22		45:1-5		51:31-35
30:1-5		49:1-6		46		26
30:6-11		49:28-33		47:1-7		29:1-7
30:12-16		49:23-27		48		31
31		48		49:1-6		30:1-5
32:1-24		25:15-38		49:7-22		29:8-23
33		26		49:23-27		30:12-16
34		27		49:28-33		30:6-11
35 - 50		28 - 43		49:34-39		25:14 - 26:1
51:1-30		44:1-30		50		27
51:31-35		45:1-5		51		28
52 ***		52		52 ***		52

1) Ieremias - Septuaginta, ed. J.Ziegler, p. 147.

The Hexaplaric and Lucianic recensions have the same order as the MT.

NOTE - *** indicate no difference.

II. The Translation of Jeremiah ch.2.

1. (The word of YHWH came to me saying :
2. Go proclaim in the ears of Jerusalem and say)¹⁾
 Thus said YHWH
 I remember (of you)²⁾ the loyalty of your youth
 the love of your bridal days
 following (me in the wilderness
 in the land not sown).³⁾
3. Holy was Israel to YHWH
 the first-fruits of His harvest
 All devouring him would be held guilty
 Evil always came to them
 the very oracle of YHWH.⁴⁾
 * * * *
4. Hear the word of YHWH, O house of Jacob,
 All families of the house of Israel
5. Thus said YHWH
 What iniquity did your fathers find in Me
 that they departed far from Me
 following "Emptiness" and became empty.⁵⁾

- 1) LXX only 'Καὶ εἶπε '.
- 2) In LXX no word for ' יְהוָה ' + soi : B.Q.V.Syh. L' Tht.
- 3) LXX τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραὴλ, λέγει κύριος.
 ((following) the Holy One of Israel, saith the Lord.)
- 4) The concluding formula of YHWH's oracle. cf. v.22.
- 5) Translation preserves Hebrew word play.

6. Never¹⁾ did they ask 'Where is YHWH',
 who brought us out of the land of Egypt
 who led us in the wilderness
 in the land of desert and shifting sands²⁾
 in the land of drought and deep darkness³⁾
 in the land no one crosses
 nobody inhabits?

7. I brought you into a fruitful land
 to eat its fruits and its goodness
 but when you entered in, you defiled My land
 and made My heritage an abomination.

8. The priests did not ask, 'Where is YHWH'?
 Those who handled the law⁴⁾ did not know Me
 The rulers rebelled against Me
 The prophets prophesied by Baal
 So they followed "No-Profit".

- 1) It distinguishes 'אֶל' from 'אֱל'. vv.37, 27b. cf. D.R.Hillers, Treaty-curses and the Old Testament Prophets, p.28.
- 2) cf. G.R.Driver, "Linguistic and Textual Problems : Jeremiah", JQR 28, 1937, pp.97-129. "The meaning of חֶמְדָּה is not so much 'pit(s)' R.V. as 'soft sand', as the Arab: (the earth sank under them, they sank in the earth) shows." p. 98.
- 4) + mou : S.A.Q. (Swete).
- 3) LXX ἀράρη (barren) - α'σ'θ':σκια θανάτου (shadow of death).
 MT צלִמְוֶת BDB. death-shadow, i. deep shadow, darkness; ii. fig. of extreme danger, Jer.2:6; Ps.23:4, 44:20.
 D.W.Thomas, JSS 7, 1962, pp.191-200. "צלִמְוֶת" in the Old Testament." He explained "'צלִמְוֶת' means 'very deep shadow'".
 J.Eaton, Problems of Translation in Psalm 23:3f., pp. 171-6.
The Bible Translator, 16, 1965, pp. 173-4.
 He said "darkness is death's principal symbol", and recommends to keep the word 'death' (the shadow of death) in such Old Testament passages. p. 174.

But it is the translator's interpretation.



9. Therefore I must still¹⁾ bring this charge
 against you (the oracle of YHWH)
 against your descendants²⁾ I will bring this
 charge.
10. For, cross to the isles of Kittim and see,
 send to Kedar and consider well,
 See if³⁾ ever it has happened like this
11. Has ever a nation changed its gods
 though they are not gods?
 But My people have changed His Glory⁴⁾
 for "No-Profit".
12. Be appalled, O heavens at this,
 shudder, and be utterly dismayed!⁵⁾
 the oracle of YHWH.

- 1) R.Gordis, "Hosea's Marriage and Message", HUCA 25, 1954, p.29, note 47. "Preceding the verb ' $\gamma\gamma$ ' means 'still, besides'". BDB p. 729, Section C.
- 2) P.Volz, Studien zum Text des Jeremia, p. 6.
Der Prophet Jeremia, pp. 13-14.
 He reads ' $\text{בְּנֵי אֲנָשֵׁיכֶם}$ ' ((mit) den Söhnen eurer Väter)
 So also the suggestion of BHK 3rd.
 The literal translation of the MT is 'children's children'.
- 3) W.Rudolph explained that ' אֲרָמַיִם ' aramaisierend für ' אֲרָמִים ', HAT, p. 12.
- 4) The Scribal Correction, see further, pp. 10, 39.
- 5) Some versions of Greek Text read ' $\eta\gamma\eta$ ' for ' $\gamma\gamma$ '.
 Syh (mg), Bo, Ath, Chr. I331, Cyr.II 63, Tht., PsChr.
 + $\eta\gamma\eta$: L' Chr, Tht, PsChr.

13. For¹⁾ two evils have My people done:

They have forsaken Me,

the fountain of living water,

to hew for themselves cisterns

broken cisterns that can not hold

water.

* * * *

14. Is Israel a servant

or is he a house-born slave?

If not, why has he become a prey?

15. Upon him the lions roar

they uttered their voice

they made his land a desolation

his cities are in ruins,²⁾ without inhabitant.

1) Climactic usage of ' כִּי '.

J. Muilenburg, "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of the Particle כִּי in the Old Testament", HUCA 32, 1961, pp. 135-160.

2) On ' הָהָרָה ' (BHK 3rd)

LXX: καὶ αἱ πόλεις αὐτοῦ κατεσκάφησαν
(and his cities are destroyed utterly).

BDB. niph. of הָרָה (kindle, burn)

Lisowsky also : Jer. 2:15; 9:9; 11:16; 17:27; 21:14;
32:29; 43:12; 49:27; 50:32; 51:30; 49:2; 51:58.

Cornill comments : we have here the stem הָרָה , not הָרָה

On ' הָרָה ' Lisowsky : 4:7; 9:11; 46:19; 2Ki. 19:25;
Is. 37:26.

BDB : to be laid waste, fall in ruin.

16. Even the men of Noph and Tahpanhes¹⁾
will humiliate²⁾ the crown of your head.³⁾
17. Have you not brought this upon yourself
by forsaking (YHWH your God),⁴⁾
(at the time of His leading you in your way)?⁵⁾
18. And now what means this going to Egypt
to drink the waters of the Nile?⁶⁾
what means this going to Assyria
to drink the waters of the Euphrates?⁷⁾

1) On Tahpanhes: F.E.Eakin, "The Reed Sea and Baalism", JBL 86, 1967, pp. 378-384, "a phoenician papyrus published in 1939 has helped to substantiate this suggestion by its reference to 'Baal-zephon and all the gods of Tahpanhes'. - The papyrus indicated Baal-zephon as the principal deity of the Phoenicians at Tahpanhes and attested the presence of a temple of Baal-zephon at Tahpanhes."

2) On ' יָעַרְי ' (BH₃rd)
S. יָעַרְי יָעַר J. Bright, R.S.V. N.E.B. - break)
יָעַרְי in BH 3. W. Rudolph suggested so, with Duham and Cornill. (kahlscheren)

LXX. ἐγνωσαν σε (= יָעַרְי)

D.W. Thomas, "The Root יָעַר in Hebrew", JThS. 35, 1934, p. 140. He explained the text by recourse to his theory of a Hebrew root יָעַר, equivalent to Arabic عَجَز : to become still, quiet, at rest : "The translation will then run - caused thee to be submissive (humiliated thee) as to the crown of the head - i.e. caused thy head to hang in shameful submission."

3) cf. Jer. 48:45. BH₃ :

4) LXX. v.16 : ἐμέ ; v.17 λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

5) In the LXX there is no equivalent of these words of Hebrew. The phrase is presumably a dittograph in the MT.

6) LXX. γῆρον

7) LXX ποταμῶν (river). MT. נַחַשׁ (Literary translation : River).

19. Your evil chastises you
 your apostasy¹⁾ condemns you.
 So know and see how evil and bitter it is²⁾
 that you have forsaken (YHWH your God),³⁾
 No fear of me is in you⁴⁾
 The very oracle of (the Lord) YHWH (of hosts).⁵⁾
- * * * *
20. For long ago,⁶⁾ I⁷⁾ broke your yoke
 and burst your bonds.

- 1) LXX transposition : ἡ ἀποστασία σου, καὶ ἡ κακία σου
- 2) LXX : ὅτι πικρόν σοι (no word for (רע)) + καὶ
 πονηρόν L. Tht.
 MT : רע ומר : not "and bitter", but adverbial usage,
 "bitterly".
- 3) LXX : ἐμέ, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου cf. v.17.
- 4) LXX : καὶ οὐκ εὐδόκησα ἐπὶ σοί, (and I have taken no pleasure
 in thee).

W.Rudolph, in BHK 3 and in his commentary, following L. (spera
 veris in me), S. (פחדתי אלי) suggested the emendation :
 פחדתי אלי (vgl. Hos. 3:5).

J.Bright, however, comments on the text, "this is corrupt and
 can only be translated by conjectural emendation". (p.10).

It seems preferable, therefore, to retain the MT.

- 5) LXX : λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου
- 6) On ' מעולם ' (Josh. 24:2; Jo. 2:2; Is. 46:9; 63:16, 19;
 64:3; Ps. 119:52).

K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, p. 105.

He explains: "Diese Vorgeschichte beginnt zwar auch ' מעולם '",
 referring to the 'Bundesformular', (Josh. 24:2), in the sense
 of the 'Heilstaten Jahves'.

- 7) On שברתי - נתקתי
 LXX : συνέτριψας - διέσπασας (thou hast broken thy/...

Yet you said, 'I will not serve (you)¹⁾

but (I will go)²⁾ upon every high-hill

and under every green tree',

then you bow down and commit harlotry.

21. I myself planted you as a Sorek vine

wholly a genuine seed.

But how are you turned into bitterness³⁾

a strange wild vine?

.../yoke and plucked -)

On grammatical note:

Ges.-K. p. 121, §44 h note 1 - "Where the Masora apparently regards the ין as the termination of the 2nd sing. fem., e.g. in Jer. 2:20 (twice), it has rather taken the form as 1st pers. sing."

The first person is adopted by א'ס'ט' (Cornill, p. 44) :AV. and the older scholars followed this (cf. Jer. 30:8, Ps. 107:14, 16).

The second person is adopted by the LXX Vulg : Recent scholars have followed this - S.R.Driver, J.Skinner, A.C.Welch, W.Rudolph, A.Weiser, P.Volz, J.Bright, RSV, NEB.

I prefer to read the 1st person, rather than the 2nd person, as being more in accordance to the Jeremiah's thought patterns (cf. Jer. 30:8, where the 1st pers. אֲנִי אֶשְׁכַּח is preferable to the 2nd, which the LXX uses).

The 1st pers. also seems more appropriate in connection in this context with 'מַעַרְלָם', a term elsewhere related to the concept of 'Heilsgeschichte'.

1) In Greek translations : + σοι . B.Q.V.Syh, L'.Tht.

2) LXX : πορεύσομαι

3) LXX : (εἰς) πικρίαν (to) bitterness

MT : לִי סֹרֵק (the degenerated (plant) unto me)

BH 3 suggests the emendation : לִסְרִיקָה

with Duhm : 'stinkende, faulige Rebe';

W.Rudolph : 'in Unkraut, -', p. 14;

J.Bright : 'to a foul-smelling thing', p. 11.

1/....

22. Though you wash yourself with soda¹⁾
 and use much soap for yourself
 Yet the stain of your iniquity is before Me,
 the very oracle of (the Lord)²⁾ YHWH.
23. How can you say, 'I am not defiled,
 after Baals I have not gone.'³⁾
 See your way in the Valley!
 know what you have done!
 A young camel swift, interlacing her ways,³⁾
24. A wild ass trained to the wilderness⁴⁾

.../follow the LXX, emending ' למררת ' (to bitterness).

- a. bitterness in the 'Rib' form; - in the vine-image :
 Dt. 32:32, Dt. 32:24 (מרירי), Dt. 32:32 (מררת),
 Jer. 2:19; 4:18 (מר), Hos. 12:15 (תמרורים),
 Jer. 6:26; 31:15.

- b. In connection with Marah - bitter water Ex. 15:23 (מרה).

- c. In Origen : - G.W.H.Lampe, A Patristic Greek Lexicon,
 Oxford, 1965-8.

πικρία, ἡ - bitterness. Lit. in the Simile of Israel
 as a vine.

' τῇ στραφείσῃ εἰς π. ἀμπέλω ' Or. hom. 2:2, in
 Jer. (p. 18.6). (to the vine which turned into bitterness)
 M.13, 280A. p. 1082.

- 1) MT : נתר LXX : νίτρον

H.J.Thackeray, Grammar of the O.T. in Greek, Vol. I, Cambridge,
 1909. He explained this as an example of "Hellenized Semitic
 words used in LXX". (Νίτρον = נתר carbonate of Soda,
 used as soap. Jer. 2:22).

- 2) LXX : λέγει κύριος

- 3) LXX : ὁψὲ φωνὴ αὐτῆς ὠλόλυξε (her voice has howled in the
 evening).

- 4) BH 3 suggests the emendation ' פרצה למדבר ' (breaking/...

in¹⁾ her living lust, snuffing up the wind
 (in) her mating-time, who can bring her back?

All who seek her need not tire themselves,
 in her month²⁾ they will find her.

25. Keep your feet from bareness³⁾
 and your throat from thirst!
 But you said, 'It is hopeless, NO!⁴⁾
 but I loved "strangers" and after them I
 will go'.

26. Just as a thief is ashamed when he is caught,
 so the house of Israel⁵⁾ will be ashamed.
 They, their kings (and) their princes,
 their priests, and their prophets.

.../loose into the desert) with L.Köhler, ZAW 29, 1909, p. 35;
 W.Rudolph and A.Weiser.

LXX : τὰς ὁδοὺς αὐτῆς ἐπλάτυνεν ἐφ' ὕδατα ἐρήμου,
 (She has extended her ways over the waters of the desert).

Chr.: ὡς δαμαλὶς δεδιδασκεμένη ἐν πανερημῷ αλλεσθαι.
 (as a young calf is taught in the desert how to jump).

In the light of v.33b : למד מדבר למדתי את-דרכיך , the phrase למד מדבר
 seems to be repetitive.

- 1) כ : double duty.
 cf. W.L.Holladay, "The young Camel and wild Ass in Jer.2:23-25",
VT 18, 1969, pp. 256-260.
- 2) LXX.: ἐν τῇ ταπεινώσει αὐτῆς (at her humiliation).
- 3) LXX : δίψους. (rough way) - NEB : stony ground.
- 4) LXX : Ἄνδριοῦμαι cf. 18:12. This seems to be a misunderstanding
 on the part of the LXX.
 cf. Comparative study in this thesis, p. 47.
- 5) MT : בֵּית יִשְׂרָאֵל
 LXX : υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ,

30. In vain I smote your children
 they took no discipline¹⁾
 your sword devoured your prophets
 like a destroying lion.
31. (You, O generation, see the word of YHWH).²⁾
 'Have I been a wilderness to Israel?
 or a land of great darkness?³⁾
 If not, why do My people say
 'we roam;⁴⁾ No more⁵⁾ we will come to Thee'.

1) MT : לקח 3rd person.

LXX : ἐδέξασθε 2nd person.

2) LXX : καὶ οὐκ ἐφοβήθητε. ἀκούσατε λόγον κυρίου Τάδε λέγει κύριος

3) LXX : κεχερωμένη dry (land)

On ' מַאֲפֵלִיָּה (MT) Darkness of Yah.

BDB : an enclitic part. of emphasis.

D.W.Thomas, "A Consideration of some unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew", VT 3, 1953, p. 211.

4) cf. Hos. 12:1 (וְלֹא בָדָד BDB 717 p.923).

LXX : οὐ κυριευθησόμεθα (= וְלֹא + בָדָד : We will not be ruled over).

S. : וְלֹא בָדָד

S.R.Driver: 'We roam at large' - the meaning is established by the Arabic. (Lane's Arab. Lex. p. 1183). - The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, p. 339.

5) On ' וְלֹא . With (וְלֹא - בָדָד) BDB p.729. no more.

"Following the Verb, it means 'again, once more'" (cf. Hos. 3:1). R.Gordis, "Hosea's Marriage and Message", HUCA 25, 1954, p. 29.

32. Can a maid forget her ornament?

or a bride her sashes?¹⁾

But My people have forgotten Me

days without number.

* * * *

33. How well you direct your way

to seek for lovers!

Therefore²⁾ even to do evil³⁾

you have learnt⁴⁾ your ways.

34. Yes, on the corners of your robe⁵⁾ there is

the life-blood of the (poor)⁶⁾ innocent.

You did not get it by housebreaking⁷⁾

but under every oak.⁸⁾

1) LXX transposition : νύμφη - καὶ παρθένος

2) LXX : οὕχ οὕτως , perhaps misunderstanding לא כן for לכן

3) On the contrast between to do 'good' (תִּטְבִּי) and to do 'evil' (הרעות) : Josh. 24:20, Jer. 10:5. (ירער - הִיטִיב) 13:23 (הִיטִיב - הרע) 4:22.

LXX : ἐπονηρεύσω τοῦ μᾶλτα (you have done wickedly in corrupting -)

BDB Hiph of רעע : to do evil, Jer. 4:22; 13:23.

4) On ' למדתי ' 2nd fem.
Ges.-K. p. 121 §44 h.

5) LXX : ἐν ταῖς χερσὶ σου (in your hand).

6) In the LXX there is no word for ' אֲלֵינִים ' (poor).
Duhm, Rudolph, Weiser omit it following LXX, as also J. Bright.
BH 3 suggests a possible emendation ' נְבִיאִים ' cf. v. 30.

7) cf. Ex. 22:1 (MT) in Mishpatim.

8) BH 3 notes that the text is corrupted. Volz: "nicht mehr/...

35. Yet, you say, 'I am innocent:

Surely His anger is turned away from me'.

Behold, I will bring you to judgement,

because you say: I have not sinned'.

36. Why do you go about¹⁾ so much,

to change your way?

Even by Egypt will you be ashamed,

as you were ashamed by Assyria.

37. Even from²⁾ here you will come out,

with your hands upon your head,

For YHWH rejected those in whom you trusted

and you will never prosper through them.

.../verständlich". Hyatt: very obscure. J.Bright: the colon can not be translated.

MT : 'על-כל-אלה' (but upon (or because of) all these:

a. S.R.Driver : garments.

b. A.Weiser : bei alle dem (wegen alles dessen). - RSV.: (yet in spite of all these things).

LXX : 'ἐπὶ πάσῃ δρυί.' (but upon every oak); NEB, J.Skinner, Soggin.

I have followed the LXX and interpreted the text as indicating Baal worship. cf. v.20 and 'ל' 'ל' (not - but) form (vv.20, 25). J.A.Soggin, "Einige Bemerkungen über Jeremias 2:34", VT 8, 1958, pp. 433-435.

J.Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, pp.62-3. Note.

1) MT : 'ל' 'ל' BDB "go about" : Dt. 32:36; ISam.9:7; Job. 14:11; Prov. 20:14.

LXX : κατεφρόνησας Giesebrecht and Duhm vocalize 'ל' 'ל'

BH 3 suggests the emendation 'ל' 'ל' following G.L.S.V.

W.Rudolph : 'leicht nimmst du es'.

J.Bright : 'How slight a thing you think it'.

S.R.Driver commented: "it is thus, under the circumstances, impossible to feel confidence that 'ל' 'ל' is right", p.340.

2) 'ל' 'ל' The double preposition (from with :16.5)

W.L.Holladay, "The Recovery of Poetic Passages of Jeremiah", JBL 85, 1966, p. 418.

C H A P T E R T W O

=====

Literary Characteristics of Jeremiah Ch.2.

I. The Composition-Structure: Prose and Poetry.

A. The Composition-Structure and the Prose Sections.

1. Composition-Structure in the Book of Jeremiah.

In BHK 3rd edition, Jeremiah chapter 2 consists of two literary types: poetry and prose.¹⁾ This confronts us with the problem of reconstructing the original form of the material.²⁾

S.Mowinckel classified the material of the book of Jeremiah according to three types A, B, and C.³⁾ S.Mowinckel used them to designate the three major sources (later, he spoke of "circles of tradition")⁴⁾ from which the material of the book of Jeremiah was drawn:

"A" is a collection of Jeremiah's sayings, almost without exception genuine;

"B" represents the narrative by the Biographer, which is in all essentials authentic;

"C" represents the work of later Deuteronomists.

- 1) Among translations, RSV and NEB make a clear distinction: Prose - vv.1-2a, 4-5a; the remaining verses are in poetry.
- 2) cf. W.L.Holladay, "The Recovery of Poetic Passages of Jeremiah", JBL 85, 1966, pp. 401-435.
J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB. 1965, cxxv-cxxxviii. He classified only vv.1 2a as prose.
- 3) S.Mowinckel, Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia, 1914.
- 4) S.Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition, 1946.

Mowinckel's approach has been taken up by W.Rudolph.¹⁾

T.H.Robinson classified the material into three types:

"A" Oracular poetry;

"B" Biographical and historical prose;

"C" Auto-Biographical prose and literary poetry.²⁾

The major critical problem of the book of Jeremiah arises in type C and the 'Autobiographical framework'.³⁾ There is complete disagreement among scholars as regards their allocation of material in the 'autobiographical style'. S.Mowinckel included these autobiographical-style passages in the type A.⁴⁾ W.Rudolph, following S.Mowinckel, classified it as 'Die Sprüche Jeremias'.⁵⁾

T.H.Robinson classified them as type C (Auto-biographical prose and literary poetry). J.Bright, at first followed T.H.Robinson and classified it as the type C (prose discourses, cast in a monotonous, wordy yet highly rhetorical style, closely akin to that of Deuteronomy).⁶⁾

1) W.Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, 1947, xiii-xvii.

2) T.H.Robinson, "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42, 1924, pp. 209-221. The important difference between his position and that of Mowinckel-Rudolph is the date assigned to the "C" passages. S.Mowinckel follows Duhm and connects these with the activity of an exilic or post-exilic school of Deuteronomists, but T.H.Robinson connects the work with Jeremiah himself.

3) J.Bright, "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah", JBL 70, 1951, pp. 15-35.
"The Book of Jeremiah, its structure, its problems", Interp. 9, 1955, pp. 259-78.

4) S.Mowinckel, Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia, 1914.

5) W.Rudolph, op. cit., p.xiv.

6) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB., lxvii.

Afterwards, he proposed to use a new symbol "A¹" :

"I suggest, therefore, that a special category be created for them and that we call this category (provisionally) A¹. I believe that this material had a history in some ways parallel to that of A. Whereas in A we have the remembered and recorded public utterance of Jeremiah, here we have his personal reminiscences, either as set down by himself or as recorded by his disciples."¹⁾

I would like, however, to classify the 'autobiographical passages' with the sign 'A^R', i.e. autobiographical redaction.²⁾

I use in this thesis A, B, C, and A^R as symbols for purely formal categories: -

- A - prophetic sayings in poetry;
- B - biographical accounts in prose;
- C - prose discourses (prose oracle akin to that of Deuteronomy);
- A^R - autobiographical discourses.

Whether these were once separate sources or circles of tradition is debatable, but they became parts of an intermingling stream of transmission through which Jeremiah's words have been handed down through so-called "Jeremianic tradition".³⁾

1) J. Bright, "The Prophetic Reminiscence" : its Place and Function in the Book of Jeremiah, 1966, p. 19.

2) See further, pp. 112, 122-3, 141 (Appendix C).

3) The problem of "Jeremianic Tradition" needs further research: S. Mowinckel, Prophecy and Tradition, 1946.

E. Nielsen, Oral Tradition, SBT, 1954.

J. P. Hyatt, "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah", Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities, I, 1951, pp. 71-95.

"The Book of Jeremiah", IB 5, 1956.

W. L. Holladay, "Prototype and Copies: a new approach to the/...

2. Prose in Jeremiah Ch.2.

BHK 3rd edition makes the distinction between prose and poetry. Neither the MT nor the LXX distinguishes between them. Recent translations, based on BHK 3, make a clear distinction between them.¹⁾

Prose passages in Jeremiah ch.2 consist of formulary styles as follows²⁾: -

- a. The revelation formula (v.1)
 - 'The word of YHWH came to me' (in MT).
- b. The Prophetic commissioning formula (v.2a)
 - 'Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem' (in MT).
- c. The introductory messenger formula (vv. 2b, 5a)
 - 'thus says YHWH'.
- d. The proclamation formula (v.4)
 - 'Hear the word of YHWH, O house of Jacob,
and all the families of the house of Israel'.

.../poetry-prose problem in the Book of Jeremiah", JBL 79, 1960, pp. 351-367.

T.W.Overholt, "The Falsehood of Idolatry", JTS 16, 1965, pp. 1-12.

E.W.Nicholson, Preaching to the Exiles; A study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah, 1970.

He examines the close links between the prose sections (prose discourses and sermons) in the book of Jeremiah and Deuteronomistic writings. He concludes that the Deuteronomists, by whom the prose materials were developed on the basis of original sayings of Jeremiah, developed the Jeremiah tradition (p.138) for their preaching and teaching activity which was carried on during the exilic period in Babylon (p.134).

- 1) RSV and NEB classified chapter 2 : vv.1-2a, 4-5a as prose.
- 2) See pp. 104ff.

The LXX begins this chapter more briefly with 'Καὶ εἶπε Τάδε λέγει κύριος '. It seems to me that vv.1-2a as written in the MT is the autobiographical redactor's writing which belongs to the Jeremianic tradition.

The prose elements in Jeremiah ch.2 may be classified as the A^R (autobiographical redaction) group. This A^R style has the characteristics of the reception of the divine word by the prophet: autobiographical accounts describe the reception of the word of YHWH, and the prophetic personal experience of YHWH's commissioning. This material presents the prophet as a messenger of YHWH commissioned by YHWH to deliver a message from YHWH to the community of Israel.¹⁾

B. The Prophetic Poetry.

1. Parallelismus Membrorum.

A new period in research on the prophetic poetry begins with Robert Lowth who was appointed Professor of Poetry at Oxford University in 1741 and delivered his famous lectures on the poetry of ancient Israel.²⁾ In 1753 these lectures were published under the title 'De sacra poesi Hebraeorum praelectiones academicae'.³⁾ In these lectures, he referred to 'the Hebrew parallelism in the

1) See further, pp. 122ff.

2) cf. J. Muilenburg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style", SVT I, 1953, p. 97.

3) R. Lowth, De sacra poesi Hebraeorum, 1753, 1763 (2nd ed.) ET. Lectures on the Sacred Poetry of the Hebrews, 1815, 1839 (4th ed.), p.1.

prophetic poetry, which consists of three species: Synonymous, Antithetic, and Synthetic or constructive Parallelism'.¹⁾

In Jeremiah Ch.2, two kinds of Parallelismus Membrorum²⁾ are pointed out: -

- a. Synonymous Parallelism in passages with positive and negative meaning-content. In synonymous parallelism in positive meaning-content, the gracious acts of YHWH are presented. In

1) Ibid., pp. 204-211.

"I shall endeavour to illustrate the Hebrew parallelism according to its different species. - This parallelism has much variety and many gradations. It may, on the whole, be said to consist of three species. The first species is the synonymous parallelism, when the same sentiment is repeated in different, but equivalent terms. - The Antithetic parallelism is the next, when a thing is illustrated by its contrary being opposed to it. -

There is a third species of parallelism, in which the sentences answer to each other, not by the iteration of the same image or sentiment, or the opposition of their contraries, but merely by the form of construction. This may be called the synthetic, or constructive parallelism."

On this 'Parallelismus Membrorum':

K.Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, 1969, pp. 92-95. He classified 5 types of parallelism: 1. Synonymous, 2. Repetitive, 3. Antithetic, 4. Synthetic, 5. Parabolic parallelism.

G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1970, pp. 43-49. He accepted two parallelisms: synonymous, and antithetical; but not synthetic, saying that "the third category usually mentioned, 'synthetic parallelism', is not parallelism at all". (p. 46)

2) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB., cxxix.

He criticized 'synthetic' parallelism in Lowth's words: - "Here there is no real parallelism of thought at all."

G.Fohrer, op. cit., pp. 43-49.

He too points out that "the third category usually mentioned, 'synthetic parallelism', is not parallelism at all". (p.46)

Basing on these criticisms, I take up two kinds of Parallelismus Membrorum.

synonymous parallelism in passages with negative meaning-content, the sin and apostasy of Israel are mentioned.¹⁾

- b. Antithetic Parallelism in passages with positive and negative meaning-contents. In antithetic parallelism there is a contrast between the merciful acts of YHWH and the apostasy of Israel, or a rhetorical question contrast in the unfaithful response of Israel with the faithfulness of YHWH.

a. Synonymous Parallelism.

i. In passages with positive meaning-content.

- v.2. 'I-remember for-you ($\gamma\delta$) the-loyalty of-your-youth,
the-love of-your-bridal-days.

This offers us a parallelism which is synonymous in thought, but formally incomplete and uncompensated (a b c / b c).²⁾

- v.3. 'Holy-was Israel to-YHWH
the-firstfruits of-His-harvest.

The word order here is emphatic. (b a c / a c).

- v.6. 'Where is YHWH
who brought us from the land of Egypt
who led us through the wilderness?
in the land of -

Parallelism occurs in the description of the merciful acts of YHWH (a b c d / b d c-).

1) See further, pp. 86ff.

2) J.Bright, op. cit., cxxxi.

ii. In passages with negative meaning-content.

v.8. 'The-priests did-not-ask 'Where is YHWH'?

Those-who-handled the-law did-not-know-Me,

and-rulers rebelled against-Me;

the-prophets prophesied by-Baal

So-after "No-profit" they-went.

(a b c / a b / a b c, a b c / d c b).

v.15. 'Upon-him the-lions roar,

they-uttered their-voice.

(d a b / b c).

they made his land a desolation

his cities are in-ruin without-inhabitant.¹⁾

(a b c / b c d).

v.19. 'Your-evil chastises-you

your-apostasy condemns-you

(a b / a b).

v.26. 'As a thief is ashamed when he is found

so the house of Israel shall be ashamed.'

v.27. 'They say to a stock, "You are my father"

and to a stone, "You have begotten me".

(a b c d / b c d).

1) cf. F.Giesebrecht, Jeremias Metrik, 1905.

According to the metre v.15 may be 'kinah' style, so that "without inhabitant" seems to be outside of the metrical structure.

But Jeremiah uses the phrase to give emphasis (cf. 2:6 = 49:33 = 18, 4:7, 6:8, 9:10=2:15), so this phrase can be kept.

See further, p. 345.

But My people have forgotten Me

days without number.

In Jeremiah ch.2. the parallelism is found not only in the poetic form, but also in the meaning-content, in particular, in the antithetic parallelism.

Recent studies have paid attention to the parallelismus membrorum in the passages concerned with "covenant formulation".¹⁾ J. Muilenburg pointed out that the "parallelism" is a feature of "proclaiming or preaching style" in particular "the covenant message", in the context of Ex. 19:3-6, the Covenant at Sinai.²⁾ M. Noth and W. Beyerlin pointed to the ceremonial character in this literary type, conditioned by the covenant-cult.³⁾

We may find the parallelismus membrorum in the Sinai covenant

- 1) J. Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations", VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365.

W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, 1965.

- 2) J. Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 353-354.

- 3) M. Noth, Exodus, OTL, 1962, p. 157.

- "This message (Ex. 19:3b-6) formulated in ceremonial language (cf. the parallelismus membrorum as early as the formula of command), is from the point of view of its style alone remarkable in the brief narrative style of the older sources."

W. Beyerlin, op. cit., p. 70.

- "The style and language of Ex. 19:3b-8 reveal that the present form of the passage stems from Israel's worship.

Its parallelismus membrorum - is exactly what one would expect in the context of a religious ceremony of worship."

"The synonymous parallelism Jacob/Israel - this formula/...

passage (Ex. 19:3-8).¹⁾

Ex.19:3, 'you shall say to the house of Jacob,
and speak to the sons of Israel.

5, And now if you will diligently listen to My voice
and keep My covenant,
then you will be to Me the treasure
you will be to Me a kingdom of priests
and a holy nation.'

From this point of view, the parallelism in Jeremiah ch.2 with strong positive and negative meaning-content would be consistent with texts reflecting the literary characteristics of the preaching style as used in declaring the covenant message.

2. Repetition.

Recent studies shed new light upon the style and structure of the prophetic poetry and, in particular, upon what can be called 'the style of repetition'.²⁾

.../goes back to the linguistic usage of the cult."

1) See further, pp. 240-241.

2) On repetition: -

J.Muilenburg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style", SVT I, 1953, pp. 97-111. (SHR).

G.Gerleman, "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics", VT I, 1951, pp. 168-180.

N.H.Ridderbos, "The Psalms : Style-Figures and Structure", OTS 13, 1963, pp. 43-76.

J.M.Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background of Psalm 89", VT 11, 1961, pp. 321-339.

W.F.Albright, "The Psalm of Habakkuk", T.H.Robinson-Festschrift/...

G.Gerleman explains the style and the characteristics of repetition as follows: -

"Its technique of repetition is different from the parallelismus membrorum, characteristic of Hebrew verse. The repetition in the Deborah Song is based on a quite different psychological foundation. Here repetition does not aim at checking, but rather at giving emphasis. Its foundation is a strong and unvaried passion. That part of a sentence which to the poet, possesses the strongest emotional value, has been chosen and strengthened by means of monotonous and emphatic repetition."¹⁾

J.Muilenburg also recognized the important role of repetition in ancient Hebrew literature as a major feature of Hebrew rhetoric and style. He pointed out that an examination of the repetitive style in ancient Hebrew rhetoric would reveal the importance of this literary method not only for an evaluation of the Hebrew temperament and literary manner but also for hermeneutics.²⁾

"Repetition plays a diverse role in the Old Testament. It serves for one thing, to center the thought, to rescue it from disparateness and diffuseness, to focus the richness of varied predication upon the poet's controlling concern. -

Repetition serves, too, to give continuity to the writer's thought: the repeated word or phrase is often strategically located thus providing a clue to the movement and stress of the poem. -

Finally, repetition provides us with an open avenue to the character of biblical thinking."³⁾

.../ Studies in Old Testament Prophecy , 1950, pp. 1-18.
Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, 1968.

Older works: -

J.M.Herder, The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, I, 1833, p. 41.

E.König, Stilistik, Rhetorik, Poetik, 1900, pp. 155, 298f.

L.Köhler, Deuteriojesaja, stilkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37, 1923, p. 93f.

1) G.Gerleman, op. cit., pp. 174, 177.

2) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., pp. 98f, 109.

3) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 99.

We must examine the prophetic poetry in Jeremiah ch.2 to find out its literary characteristics, in particular word-repetition and sound-repetition (assonance).¹⁾

a. Word repetition.

- v.6. in the land (בארץ) of desert and shifting sands
in the land (בארץ) of drought and deep darkness
in the land (בארץ) no one crosses, nobody inhabits.
- v.7. I brought (אביא) you into -
 but when you entered in (ותבאר)
- v.9. Therefore still I must bring this charge (אריב) against
 you
 against your children's children
 בני בנים
I will bring this charge (אריב).
- v.10 Cross the isles of Kittim and see (וראו)
See (וראו) if it has happened like this.

1) A major difficulty now lies in determining whether a repetition is original in the saying or part of the secondary re-arrangement of the material.

(cf. G.B.Gray, The Forms of Hebrew Poetry, 1915, p. 295).

It seems to be that a superficial, mechanical bridge probably reflects a later juxtaposition. For example: -

Jer. 2:17 and 19

MT : עזבך את-יהוה אלהיך , עזבך את-יהוה אלהיך

LXX : λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου, λέγει κύριος ὁ θεός σου.

v.17.MT : בעת מוליכך בדרך (dittography of MT: cf.v.6b)

v.18.MT : מה-לך לדרך - לשתות מי -
 ומה-לך לדרך - לשתות מי -

As to "assonance": -

P.P.Saydon, "Assonance in Hebrew as a Means of Expressing Emphasis", Bibl. 36, 1955, pp. 36-50, 287-304.

v.11. Has ever a nation changed (ההימיר) its gods,
 though they are 'Not God'? (לא)
 But My people have changed (המיר) His Glory,
 for 'Not-Profit'. (לוא)

v.13. They have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water, (מים)
 to hew themselves cisterns, (בארות)
 broken cisterns (בארות)
 that can not hold water. (המים)

v.26. As a thief is ashamed (בשת) when he is found,
 So the house of Israel shall be ashamed (הבישו)

v.34. Even on the corners of your robe is found (נמצא)
 the life-blood of the innocent (poor),
 Not by housebreaking did you discover it (מצאתים)
 but under every oak.

v.36b. Even by Egypt will you be ashamed, (תבוש)
 as you were ashamed (בשת) by Assyria.

b. Word Play.

As a variation of repetition, we may find the word play in
 Jeremiah Ch.2. Jeremiah is fond of the word-play,¹⁾ as well as
 Hosea.²⁾

1) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB., pp. 5, 24, points out some of the
 examples of word-play: -

Jer. 1:11-12 (שקד - שקד)
 3:12 (שובה - משובה : cf. 8:4-5).

For a full discussion of Jeremiah's word-play on this verb
 (שוב): - W.L.Holladay, The Root Šûbh in the Old Testament,
 pp. 1-2, 129-139, 152-153.

2) W.Rudolph/...

v. 5. 'following "Emptiness" and became "empty" (ההבל ויהבלר).

The name of Ephraim is joined with "פרי" (fruit: Jer.2:7; Hos. 9:16, 14:9), and with the noun "פרא" (wild ass: Jer.2:24, (or פרה calf) Hos. 8:9). Such word-play has an ironical tone.

Other examples of word-play in Jeremiah Ch.2 are: -

v.12. 'Be appalled, O heavens!' (שמר שמים)¹⁾.

v.27. 'they turned to Me their back, not their face' (פנו פנים).

vv.34-35 'Even on the corners of your robe there is

the life-blood of the innocent (poor), (נקיים)

Yet you say, "I am innocent". (נקיתי)

In v.11, "בלוא יועיל" it is possible to imagine that this term is a word-play on "בליעל" which might be "No-Profit", (cf. Hos. 7:16).²⁾

This kind of repetition is an important aid to fixing the prophetic message in the mind of his hearers.

.../Hosea, KAT, 1966, p. 21 (Hos. 8:9; 4:17; 9:11, 16), cites the full list of occurrences of word-play in the book of Hosea.

J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL, 1969, p. 7 : the comment on 8:7, 9; 9:15.

M.J.Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea, pp. 39-40.

- "Allied to assonance are the frequent plays on words evident in the book. - Though Hosea is not highly original in the creation of literary symbols, he is effective in their variation."

1) See further, p. 168f.

2) Hos. 7:16, the text (לא על) is corrupt. BHK 3 suggests to read it as "בליעל". Others suggest "ל בעל" (to Baal).

J.L.Mays, op. cit., pp. 110, 112.

c. Key-words.

As to the phenomenon of 'keywords' or 'catchwords' (Stichwörter) M.Buber and F.Rosenzweig have drawn attention to the fact that the Old Testament in general and the Psalms in particular make a significant use of 'keywords'.¹⁾ A strong statement on this is found in M.Buber's Right and Wrong - An Interpretation of Some Psalms - .²⁾

"The recurrence of the key-words is a basic law of composition in the Psalms. This law has a poetical significance in rhythmical correspondence of sound values - as well as a hermeneutical one. The Psalm provides its own interpretation, by repetition of what is essential to its understanding. This is why it often refuses to vary the expression of a certain subject."³⁾

L.J.Liebreich, J.M.Ward and N.H.Ridderbos⁴⁾ follow the key-word theory of M.Buber in their studies, in order to test the validity of 'the basic law of composition in the Psalms'.

J.Muilenburg notes that 'more important is the repetition of

-
- 1) M.Buber - F.Rosenzweig, Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung, 1936, pp. 211f, 262f.
 - 2) M.Buber, Right and Wrong, - An Interpretation of Some Psalms - 1952.
 - 3) *ibid.*, p. 54.
 - 4) L.J.Liebreich, "Psalms 34 and 145 in the Light of their Key Words", HUCA 27, 1956, pp. 181-192.
- J.M.Ward, "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background of Ps.89", VT 11, 1961, pp. 321-339.
- N.H.Ridderbos, op. cit., OTS 13, 1963, pp. 43-76.

central key-words throughout a poem'.¹⁾

We must apply this 'basic law of composition in the Psalms' to the prophetic poetry of Jeremiah ch.2, to make clear the meaning of the prophetic poetry.

What are the central key-words in the book of Jeremiah ch.2? "YHWH", "Israel", "way" "land & wilderness" may be pointed out as the central key-words, judging by the frequency of their occurrence.

- i. YHWH and His word (1,2,3,3,4,5,6,8,9,12,17,19,19,22,29,31,37)
 the word of YHWH (1,4,31); thus says YHWH (2,5).
 the oracle of YHWH (3,9,12,29,22,19).

ii. Israel and its synonymous words

Israel (3, 14, 32).	the house of Israel (4, 26).
My people (11, 13, 31, 32).	the house of Jacob (4).
Your fathers (5).	your children's children (9).

"YHWH" and "Israel" (My people) are not only the central key-words but also determine the structural patterns of the poem.²⁾

Both of them are used in describing the relationship between YHWH and Israel, in particular, the dialogue form of 'I and Thou'.³⁾

1) J.Muilenburg, "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric", SVT 1, 1953, p.104.

2) cf. see further pp. 86ff.

3) J.Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations", VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365, (FSCF)
 - He explained that the 'I and Thou' form is the literary type of the message or proclamation, in particular, of the 'covenant message'. pp. 352-4.

This is characteristic of prophetic poetry.

iii. Way and its synonymous words.¹⁾

The way (דרך), (17, 18, 18, 23, 23, 33, 33, 34).

follow (הלך אחרי) on Israel's side, (2, 5, 23, 25).

bring, (הביא, הוליך, העלה) on YHWH's side, (6, 6, 7).

In the Old Testament the way is not abstract or static but actual and existential. M.Buber suggested that "the way, the way of life of these men is so created that at each of its stages they experience the divine contact afresh."²⁾

The way of Israel is the way of following YHWH (v.2), wherever that may lead: YHWH who brought up Israel from Egypt, brought them through the wilderness into the fruitful land, (vv.6-7).

Israel changed their God for 'No-Profit' (v.11): then 'they followed' 'emptiness' and became 'empty' (v.5). They followed Baal (v.23) and the strange (gods) (v.25). So YHWH complains (Rib) against the people of Israel in repeated rhetorical questions

'Why do my people say

"we roam, no more we will come to Thee"?' (v.31)

'Why do you go about so much to change your way?' (v.36)

1) J.Muilenburg, The Way of Israel, 1962.

He emphasizes that the way of Israel is the central point of the biblical message in the Old Testament.

2) M.Buber, Right and Wrong, 1952, p. 59.

'How can you say,

"I am not polluted, after Baals I have not gone?"

(v.23)

Other key-words are: -

iv. 'Land' (ארץ) and 'wilderness' (מדבר).

The words ' ארץ ' and ' מדבר ' occur frequently in Jer.2.¹⁾

a. The land (ארץ) is parallel with wilderness (מדבר)

in Jer. 2:2b (MT), 6, and 31.

v.2 (MT): 'following Me in the wilderness
in the land not sown.

v.6 (YHWH) led us in the wilderness

in the land of desert and shifting sands,
in the land of drought and deep darkness,
in the land no one crosses,
nobody inhabits.

v.31 Have I been a wilderness to Israel?
or a land of deep darkness?

In the wilderness YHWH showed His mercy to Israel, finding them (Dt. 32:10; Hos. 9:10) and guiding them in the wilderness.

In the wilderness Israel found YHWH's grace (Jer.31:2), following Him.

b. The land (ארץ) is YHWH's heritage (נחלה): Jer.2:7.²⁾

The word ' ארץ ' is described as 'a fruitful land'

1) Lisowsky: ' מדבר ' Jer. 2:2, 6, 24, 31; Dt. 32:10; Hos. 2:5, 16; 9:10; 13:5, 15.
' ארץ ' Jer. 2:2, 6, 6, 6, 6, 7, 7, 15, 31.

2) cf. G.von Rad, "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land in the/...

(ארץ הכרמל) and 'My land' (ארצִי) in parallel with 'My heritage' (נחלתִי) in Jer. 2:7. The idea is rooted in the passage of the Sinai covenant (Ex. 19:5 - 'for all the earth (כל הארץ) is Mine').

c. The land (ארץ) is made desolation (שמה) by Israel's apostasy.

The word ' ארץ ' occurs in relation to 'desolation' (שמה).¹⁾

v.15b, 'They (lions) made his land a desolation (שמה)
- without inhabitants.'

Israel's sin and apostasy brought forth the desolation upon the land (Jer. 2:7b).

'I looked, lo, the fruitful land was a desert (המדבר)
before YHWH, before his fierce anger.' (4:26)
All the land shall be a desolation (שמה : 4:27).

Thus the wilderness and the earth-desolation motif have an important role in the covenant Rib form.

.../Hexateuch" in The Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, pp. 79-93.

He pointed out that the notion "the land is Yahweh's 'inheritance' (נחלה)" does not occur in the Hexateuch but in the following texts (I Sam. 26:19; II Sam. 14:16; Jer. 2:7, 16:18, 50:11; Ps. 68:10, 79:1; cf. Lev. 25:23). p. 82.

1) cf. J.Muilenburg, "The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah", in H.G.May-Festschrift, Translating and Understanding the O.T., pp. 42-63, esp. pp. 50-52.

v. ' רָעָה ' in its double sided meaning.¹⁾

The evil ((רָעָה)) on Israel's side (vv.13, 19, 33, 19).

Disaster ((רָעָה)) from YHWH's side upon Israel and others
(vv.3, 27, 28).²⁾

The word ' (רָעָה) ' is the sub-key word in this chapter 2
which characterizes the prophetic preaching in the chapter.

Jeremiah proclaims YHWH's judgement to Israel, because of all
the evil which they have done (Jer. 1:16 - כָּל-רָעָתָם). At first
Jeremiah made known to them 'what the evil is in Israel ':

'My people have committed two evils: (רָעוּת)
they have forsaken Me, the fountain of living water,
and hewed out cisterns, broken cisterns
that can hold no water.' (v.13).

'Your evil (רָעַתְךָ) will chasten you -
Know and see how bitterly evil³⁾ (רָע) is
your abandoning YHWH, your God '. (v.19).

Corresponding to the evil (רָע) of Israel, the disaster
((רָעָה)) will come out from YHWH to Israel.⁴⁾

'In the time of their disaster' (vv.27, 28):
I will bring disaster upon them (Jer. 23:12b).

1) Lisowsky : רָעָה : Jer. 2:3, 13, 19, 27, 28, 33.

2) BDB. רָעָה (n.f.) Jer. 2:3, 27, 28. NEB translated it as
'disaster'.

3) P.P.Saydon, "Assonance in Hebrew as a Means of Expressing
Emphasis", Bibl. 36, 1955, pp. 36-50, 287-304, esp. p.296.
He suggests that the idea expressed by the adjective is that
of "dreadfully wicked", not "wicked and bitter", (p.296).

4) W.Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT 12, 1947, p. 129.
He writes: "Aber diese רָעָה seines Volkes wird Jahwe mit רָעָה
beantworten." (cf. Jer. 23:10, 12b, 1:16).

3. I - You Style.

Prophetic poetry in Jeremiah Ch.2 is written for the most part in the I-you style, the so-called proclaiming or preaching style.¹⁾

a. Divine "I" address:

i. I (YHWH) and thou (Israel).

v.2. I remember for thee (לך) the loyalty of your youth
the love of thy bridal days.

v.21. I (אֲנִכִּי) planted thee as a Sorek vine

v.35. Behold, I will bring thee (אֶתְךָ) to judgement.

ii. I (YHWH) and you (Israel) pl.

v.7. I brought you (אֶתְכֶם) into a fruitful land.

v.9. Therefore I must still complain against you (אֶתְכֶם).

v.30. I smote your children (אֶת-בְּנֵיכֶם) in vain.

b. Divine "Me" address:

Me (YHWH) and you (Israel) in YHWH's accusation against Israel's sin.

v.22. Yet the stain of thy iniquity is before Me (לִפְנֵי).

v.17. Have you not brought this upon yourself,
by forsaking (YHWH your God) Me?
(LXX)²⁾

1) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., (FSCF) VT 9, p. 353f.

W.Beyerlin, Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, 1965, p. 65. W.Beyerlin explained that "the historical prologue is in the I-thou style just like the Decalogue and the covenant-form."

2) See further, pp. 37, 54.

v.29. Why do you dispute with Me (אֲלִי)?

all of you (כֻּלְכֶם) rebelled against Me (בִּי).

c. Israel's unfaithful response to YHWH - "ותאמר י" ¹⁾

i. with the negative "לֹא".

v.23. How canstthou say, "I am not defiled,
after Baals I have not gone!"

v.31. Why My people say, "We roam,
no more we will come to Thee!"

v.35. Because you said, "I have not sinned!"

ii. with the negative "לֹא כִי" - not, but -

v.20. Thou saidst, "I will not serve (you),
but (I will go) upon every high hill -.

v.25. Thou saidst, "I have no hope: No!
but I loved strangers and after them
I will go."

v.35. (v.34 You did not get it by housebreaking,
but under every oak)
Yet you said "I am innocent: surely His anger is
turned from me."

According to J.Muilenburg this I-you style is a literary characteristic of the message or proclamation, in particular, the covenant message.²⁾

1) See further, pp. 90-91, 371.

2) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., VT 9, p. 353.

II. The Literary Structure and Terminology.

The literary structure of Jeremiah Ch.2. consists of three remarkable literary types: positive, negative, and rhetorical-question types.

The positive type contains a positive description of the communion between YHWH and Israel and it is YHWH himself who initiates the positive relationship with Israel.

The negative type indicates a negative relationship between YHWH and His people, and it is Israel who denies YHWH and apostatizes against Him.

In the rhetorical-question type, YHWH complains to Israel about this negative relationship towards YHWH.

This is the background of the covenant Rib form¹⁾ which is the important theme of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

1. Positive structure and terminology.

The positive structure and terminology found in Jeremiah ch. 2:2-3, 7a, and 21a: -

v.2. I remember for you (יָדַעְתִּי) the loyalty of your youth
the love of your bridal days
following me in the wilderness.²⁾

1) cf. See further, pp. 159-160, 368f.

2) LXX : ἐξακολουθήσαι σε τῷ ἁγίῳ Ἰσραὴλ,
(following the Holy One of Israel).

Note:v.20: I broke your yoke (Ps. 107.16) as YHWH's saving acts.
and burst your bond (Ps. 107.14)

- v.7a. I brought you into a fruitful land
to enjoy its fruits and its goodness.
- v.21a. I planted you as a Sorek vine
wholly a genuine seed.

The subject of these passages is YHWH Himself who initiates the positive relationship between YHWH and Israel. It is YHWH who remembered, brought and planted Israel, who acted in the salvation history: His delivering them from Egypt, His leading them through wilderness, His bringing them into the fruitful land.

The positive passages are described in contrast with the negative in the antithetic parallelism (vv.7, 21):

- v.7. I brought you into a fruitful land
to enjoy its fruits and its goodness.
But when you entered in, you defiled my land
you made my heritage an
abomination.
- v.21. a Sorek vine,
wholly a genuine seed / a strange wild vine
- v.2. following Me / following 'emptiness' (v.5).

The most remarkable thought in this positive structure here is 'YHWH's remembering' (זָכַרְתִּי) in v.2b.¹⁾ In the book of Jeremiah, 'YHWH remembers' is mentioned elsewhere.

- 31:20 'I still remember him' (Ephraim).
34 'I remember their sin no more' (New Covenant passage).
14:21 'Remember thy covenant with us'.

The most important features of 'YHWH's remembering' are seen

1) cf. see further, pp. 309-311.

in the covenant relationship (31:34) and in the complaint or plea (14:21) in these contexts.

According to the historical narrative of the wilderness-period, Israel was unfaithful to YHWH and murmured to YHWH, rebelled and apostatized against YHWH. But YHWH revealed Himself to Israel as their God and guided them through the wilderness. So that 'I remember' indicates the forgiveness of sin¹⁾ - 'I remember their sin no more' in the saving act of YHWH, to keep and to renew the covenant relationship with Israel. At the same time 'I remember' is a divine appeal to Israel in order to actualize²⁾ the faithful relationship here and now.

The positive structure and terms in Jeremiah ch.2 are based on the mighty acts of YHWH in Israel's salvation history.³⁾

2. Negative structure and terminology.

The negative structure and terminology are found in most parts of Jeremiah ch.2. There are two types of negative expression: one is the negative with 'לֹא' (not)⁴⁾ and the other is the word

- 1) B.S.Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, 1962, p.41.
He mentions that "there are several other examples of the prophetic use of the verb 'remember' within the context of forgiveness."
- 2) M.W.Porteous, "Actualization and the Prophetic Criticism of the Cult", in Living the Mystery, p. 127.
- 3) cf. See further, pp. 353ff.
- 4) With 'לֹא' : vv.6, 8, 8, 11, 11, 13, 20, 23, 23, 24, 25,
30, 31, 34, 35.
with 'לֹא־' : vv.6, 6, 19, 27, 39.
with 'לֹא־לֵךְ' : v.17/...

which is negative in its meaning. These indicate the apostasy and sin of Israel. The negative prophetic saying is a threat (or judgement speech), announcing disaster and judgement on account of the sin and apostasy of Israel.¹⁾

a. The apostasy.

In Jer.2 there are many expressions which designate other gods:

"No-profit" (לא-יועלן vv.8, 11); "no-god" (לא-אלהים v.11);
 "emptiness" (ההבל v.5); "strangers" (זרים v.25);
 "Baal" (בעל v.8); "Baals" (בעלים v.23);
 "your gods" which you made for yourself" (אלהיך v.28);
 "broken cisterns that can not hold water"
 (בארות נשברים אשר לא-יכלו המים v.13).

These negative words serve to manifest the ineffectiveness²⁾ of gods, idols and apostasy, in contrast with the living God who is Almighty:

.../Elsewhere in the O.T., Dt.32, Hosea, Asaph-Psalms 78.

Dt. 32:17 'Not-God' (לא אלה), v.21 (לא-אל);

Hos. 1:9 'Not-I AM' (לא-איה : cf. Ex. 3:13, the name of God).

On Israel: 'לא'-usage is frequent in Hosea, in Dt. 32 and Asaph-Psalms.

Not-pitied (לא רחמה : Hos. 1:6, 8; 2:25);

Not-My people (לא עמי : Hos. 1:9, 9; 2:1, 25);

Not his children (Dt. 32:5, בניו לא);

Not-people (Dt. 32:21 לא-עם);

Not wise (Dt. 32:6, Hos. 13:13, חכם לא);

Not faithful (Dt. 32:20, לא-אמן);

Not faithful (Ps. 78:8, 37; cf. 22, 32 לא נאמנה).

1) cf. G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1970, p. 353.

2) T.W.Overholt, "The Falsehood of Idolatry", JTS 16, 1965, pp.1-12,7.

v.11 - His (YHWH's) Glory / No-profit;

v.13 - the fountain of living water / broken cisterns;

v. 8 - YHWH and Me / Baal and No-profit.

b. The sin of Israel - the denial of YHWH.

i. In the literary expression of the negative ' אֵל '.

The sin of Israel is described in Israel's denial of YHWH expressed by means of negation: -

v.6. 'They did not (אֵל) ask: "Where is YHWH?"'.

v.8. 'The priests did not (אֵל) ask: "Where is YHWH?"'.
'Those who handled the law did not (אֵל) know Me'.

The sin of Israel is described in Israel's denial of YHWH expressed by rejection of His accusation: -

v.23. 'How can you say, "I am not (אֵל) defiled,
after Baals I have not (אֵל) gone."'

v.30. 'They took no (אֵל) discipline.'

v.31. 'Why do My people say, "We roam,
No (אֵל) more we will
come to Thee."'

v.35. 'You say, "I am innocent:
Surely His anger is turned away from me."
'You say, "I have not (אֵל) sinned."'

ii. In the literary expression of the negative ' כִּי , אֵל '.

An expression of this negative structure unique to Jeremiah Ch.2 is the description of the "two sins" of Israel (v.13) which occurs with "Not - but (כִּי אֵל) form" in the three-fold style, (vv.20, 25, 34):¹⁾

1) The Prophetic three-fold expression occurs here in the/...

- v.20b. 'I will not (אל) serve (you),
but (כי) (I will go) upon every high hill
and under every green tree.'
- v.25. 'It is hopeless, No! (אל),
but (כי) I loved strange (gods)
and after them I will go.'
- v.34. 'You did not (אל) get it by housebreaking,
but (כי) under every oak.'

These passages indicate two evils: one is transgression against YHWH (vv.20, 25) and His 'mishpatim' (v.34) and the other is apostasy.

iii. In the words which are negative in meaning.

The covenant-breaking: -

- vv.13,17,19. 'They (you) forsake (עזבו) Me (YHWH, your God).'
- vv. 8, 29. 'They (you) transgressed against Me (פשעו).'
- v.32. 'My people forget Me' (שכחו).
- v.27. 'They turned (פנו) their back to Me,
not their face.

The separation from YHWH: -

- v.5. 'They departed far from Me
following "emptiness" and became empty.

.../"not - but" form.

cf. Josh.24:18, 21, 24 - Three-fold expression of "we serve Thee" (נעבד את-יהוה).

Ex. 19:8; 24:3, 7 - Three-fold expression of "We will do what you have said" (כל אשר-דבר יהוה נעשה).

All of these passages are concerned with covenant formulation (Ex.19,24 and Josh.24) or, in the case of Jer.ch.2 covenant violation. cf. see further, pp. 370-371.

cf see further

The three-fold sphere: -

In the Baal-cult:

- v.7. 'You made My heritage an abomination.'
- v.25. 'I loved "strangers" and after them I will go.'
- v.27. 'They say to a stock, "You are my father",
and to a stone, "You have begotten Me".

In the legal sphere:

- v.34. 'On the corners of your robe there is
the life-blood of the (poor) innocent.'
(cf. Ex.23:6).
'You did not get it by housebreaking.'
(cf. Ex.22:1).

In the international sphere:

- vv.18, 36. On the problem of Israel's relation with
Egypt and Assyria.

c. The disaster and judgement.

- v.27. 'And in the time of their disaster (רעתם)
they say, "Rise up and save us".'
- v.28. 'Let them (idols) rise if they can save you
in the time of your disaster' (רעתך).
- v.35. 'Behold, I will bring you to judgement.' (נשפט).
- v.37. 'For, YHWH rejected those in whom you trusted,
and you shall not prosper through them.'

The disaster (רע) will come from YHWH upon Israel, because of the evil (רע) of Israel. YHWH will bring them to judgement because of their sin and apostasy. Then Israel will have no help and salvation through their idols and no prosperity through them.

The negative expression is used especially in the prophetic judgement speech, to express the prophetic radical criticism of the actual apostasy of Israel and to indicate the ineffectiveness of idols.

These usages of the word 'אֵל', however, belong to a special tradition of negative expression which is found in Dt. 32, Hosea, Asaph-Psalm (78) and Jeremiah, i.e. in the tradition which was preserved in the northern Kingdom Israel.¹⁾

3. Rhetorical questions and Rib (רִיב).

Frequent occurrence of rhetorical questions is a literary characteristic of Jeremiah chapter 2. In the rhetorical-question type, YHWH complains to Israel through His prophet Jeremiah that Israel might become aware of its sin and apostasy and then repent. YHWH's complaints (Rib) are expressed in the rhetorical question and in the imperative.

a. Rhetorical questions: -

"מַה" (What?) -

-
- 1) O.Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und Das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes, 1958, p. 8, n. 1.

He pointed out: "Da der Dichter unseres Liedes offenbar Zusammensetzungen mit 'אֵל' (Nicht) liebt".

M.J.Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea, BZAW 111, 1969, pp.88-89.

In relation to the Decalogue:

E.Nielsen, The Ten Commandments in New Perspective, SBT 7, 1968.

J.J.Stamm & M.E.Andrew, The Ten Commandments in Recent Research, SBT 2, 1967.

- v.5. What iniquity did your fathers find in me?
 v.18. What means this going to Egypt - ?
What means this going to Assyria - ?
 v.23. Know what you have done!
 v.33. How well you direct your way
 to seek for lovers!
 v.36. Why do you go about so much
 to change your ways?

" איה " (Where?)

- v.6. Never did they ask, "Where is YHWH?"
 v.8. The priests did not ask, "Where is YHWH?"
 v.28. Where are your gods which you made for yourself?

" למה "

- v.29. Why do you dispute (Rib) with me? (cf. Ex. 17:2)

" איך "

- v.21. How are you turned into bitterness
 a strange wild vine?
 v.23. How can you say, "I am not polluted?"

" ה " ?

- v.11. Has ever a nation changed its gods,
 though they are not gods?
 v.32. Will a maid forget her ornament?

" הלוא "

- v.17. Have you not brought this upon you?

" ה אם מרע " ¹⁾

1) T.H. Robinson, "Anacrusis in Hebrew Poetry", BZAW 66, 1936/...

- v.14. Is Israel a servant,
or is he a house-born (slave)?
If not, why did he become as a prey?
- v.31. Have I been a wilderness to Israel,
or a land of darkness?
If not, why do my people say
"we roam, no more we will come to
Thee?"

b. Imperative style: -

In Jeremiah ch.2, there are some repetitions of words in the imperative form. YHWH accuses Israel of sin and apostasy not only in rhetorical questions but also in imperative style.

- v.10. Cross the isles of Kittim and see (כָּרַךְ)
Send to Kedar and consider well,
See (כָּרַךְ) whether there has been anything like this!
- v.19. Know and see (יָדַעְתָּ וְרָאִיתָ) how bitterly evil it is
that you have forsaken Me!
- v.23. See (רָאִיתָ) your way in the valley,
know (יָדַעְתָּ) what you have done!
- v.31. See (כָּרַךְ) the word of YHWH (LXX : hear)!

According to the classical usage of 'see' in Ex.19:4 (motif of the covenant witness)¹⁾, 'see!' is YHWH's calling Israel as witness in the 'covenant-Rib'. Accusation in rhetorical question and

.../p.40. He pointed out that "interrogatives, especially ' הָאֵלֹהִים וְהָאֱלֹהִים ' are characteristic of Jeremiah (cf. 2:31; 8:4-5; 12:1; 14:19; 30:6; 49:1).

S.R.Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 1897, p. 275.

He mentioned it as one of the "expressions characteristic of Jeremiah". (2:14, 31; 8:4f, 19, 22; 14:19; 22:28; 49:1; cf. 30:6).

W.L.Holladay, "The so-called Deuteronomic gloss in Jer.8:19b", VT 12, 1962, pp.494-498. He takes up this "form of three fold question" under his consideration.

1) J.Muilenburg, op.cit., (FSCF), VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365, p. 355.

imperative is a characteristic element of the covenant-Rib form¹⁾

- rhetorical questions frequently occur in the Rib form (Dt.

32:37, 6, 20; Hos. 6:4, 4; 11:8, 8).

1) cf. see further, pp. 159, 265-266.

CHAPTER THREE

=====

Form Analysis of Jeremiah Chapter 2.

I. A Survey of the Investigation.

A. Messenger Speech Form:

the contribution of L.Köhler, J.Lindblom.

The application of form-criticism to the prophetic writings has illuminated in a striking fashion the role of the prophet as YHWH's messenger.¹⁾

A new period in the research on the Messenger Speech form of the prophets begins with L.Köhler's and J.Lindblom's works.

Ludwig Köhler was among the first to demonstrate the existence of the prophetic "Botenspruch".²⁾ In his classic analysis of the stylistic elements in Deutero-Isaiah he isolated numerous passages where the prophet assumes the role of a messenger and couches his oracles in the standard messenger style; we have not only the usual opening, 'koh amar YHWH' (thus says YHWH), followed by qualifying titles, but also the standard conclusion, 'ne'um YHWH' (the oracle of YHWH). He finds in this message style an important characterization of prophecy as such - the prophets are messengers.

1) cf. R.E.Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, SBT 43, 1965, p. 24.

2) L.Köhler, Deuterojesaja, stilkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37, 1923.
- Kleine Lichte, Zürich, 1945, p. 13.

J.Lindblom investigated the oracle formula, a structural element of the prophetic speech: the formula, 'koh amar YHWH' in the book of Amos. He found that the phrase (namely, "thus says YHWH) belongs exclusively to prophetic literature and prophetic narratives.

"The formula originally may have served to introduce a real oracle, later it is used to introduce every conceivable kind of prophetic statement. At last, it was generally understood as a self-evident signature of a prophetic statement."¹⁾

J.Lindblom pursues the origin of the formula by his comparative study:

"The oracle formula 'thus says Yahweh' was commonly used by the early prophets as an introduction to their oracles and from them inherited by the classical prophets. This formula was no invention by the Hebrew prophets, but belonged to the oracular terminology of the ancient world."²⁾

The works of J.Lindblom and L.Köhler apparently originated entirely independent of each other though their results show that they made the same discoveries - they discovered the connection of the prophetic style with the messenger style.³⁾

1) J.Lindblom, Die literarische Gattung der prophetischen Literatur, 1924, p. 100f. - quoted from C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, 1967, p. 36.

2) J.Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 1962, p. 103.

3) cf. C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, 1967, p. 36.

B. Prophetic Speech Form:

the contribution of H.Gunkel, H.W.Wolff,

R.B.Y.Scott, C.Westermann.

Since Hermann Gunkel's pioneer works, the forms of prophetic speeches have been examined by the application of form-criticism to the prophetic writings.

In his research, H.Gunkel¹⁾ found that the basic unit of prophetic speech is the short saying, the short, single saying which is in itself independent. He establishes two classes of prophetic oracles: visions and auditions. The style of the visions is the narrative; auditions are prophetic speeches that are developed in an almost boundless variety of ways.

"Within the prophetic speeches an almost boundless diversity prevails: promise and threat, a recounting of sins, admonitions, Priestly Torah, historical retrospection, disputations, songs of all kinds, short lyrical passages, liturgies, parables, allegories, etc."²⁾

The question must arise: What is specifically the most essential prophetic speech form? H.Gunkel pointed out two forms:

"For the great judgment prophets, the exposure of sins is an important part of their sermon. There are whole prophetic books such as Amos, which exhibit the essentials of both of these genres: the threat (Drohrede) and the reproach (Scheltrede)."³⁾

1) H.Gunkel, "Propheten IIB seit Amos", RGG¹, pp. 1538-1554.

2) *ibid.*, pp. 1552-4. Quoted from C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 25.

3) Quoted from C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 28.

He explained that the threat and reproach represent two independent, originally and naturally separate genres which were only secondarily brought into connection with each other by the prophets.¹⁾

H.W.Wolff²⁾ made an extensive investigation of prophetic speech forms, which paid close attention to "the place and the form of the Begründung (reason)³⁾ in the prophetic speeches." Wolff finds a 'simplest' form of the prophetic speech:

"In the simplest form the reason (Begründung), as a declaratory sentence, is joined to the threat (Drohrede) with laken (לָכֵן) alken (לָכֵן-לְעַלְמָא), or similar connectives."⁴⁾

According to H.W.Wolff, "through the reason (Begründung), the prophet developed from a mere messenger into a mediator",⁵⁾ and the regular form of prophetic speech is a unity consisting of the reason (Begründung) and the announcement (Heils- und Unheilssprüche).

In his essay entitled "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", R.B.Y.Scott⁶⁾ distinguishes five kinds of materials: -

-
- 1) cf. C.Westermann, op. cit., pp. 29-30 (ET).
 - 2) H.W.Wolff, "Die Begründung der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilssprüche", ZAW 52, 1934, pp. 1-22.
 - 3) H.W.Wolff used the term 'Begründung' for 'Scheltrede' (reproach).
 - 4) H.W.Wolff, op. cit., p. 2.
 - 5) cf. C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 58.
 - 6) R.B.Y.Scott, "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", in T.H.Robinson-Festschrift, Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, 1950, pp. 175-86.

1. Autobiographical Narratives in which oracles are incorporated;
2. Private Oracles not included in Narratives, but attached to Public Oracles, usually as their introduction;
3. Public Oracles not included in Narratives;
4. Biographical Narratives (Primary);
5. Biographical Narratives (Secondary).

He pointed out the four primary forms of the prophetic oracle - threat, reproach, promise and exhortation - represented in Isaiah (1-39). The first two forms (threat and reproach) are the most frequent and appear in combination. The promises, for most part, are later insertions.

1. The reproach is very often introduced by a word 'hōy' (הוֹי) "Woe! Oh!" or "Hear ye, -" introducing a complaint. The core of the reproach is a literally described complaint.
2. The threat begins with kî (כִּי) or hinnē (הִנֵּה, הנה) and sometimes is linked to the reproach by lākēn (לָכֵן).
3. The promise is heralded frequently by a phrase such as 'in that day', 'at that time', and is based upon the preceding oracle (a threat) and declares the fulfilment of the divine purpose 'in that day'.
4. The exhortation is represented by two examples combined with promises, one combined with a threat, and one combined with a reproach.

Scott recognized that the most dominant forms of prophetic

oracles in Isaiah is the combination of the Reproach and the Threat¹⁾ whose core is a complaint.

In his book Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, Claus Westermann²⁾ distinguishes three major kinds of speech in the prophetic books.³⁾

1. Accounts (prophetic legend), either autobiographical or biographical;
2. Prophetic speeches, either judgement or salvation speech;
3. Utterances from a man to God, either in the praise of God or in lament.

C. Westermann emphasized three points in relation to the prophetic speeches: the prophetic speech as the messenger speech, 'Gerichtsrede' as the basic form of prophetic speech, and tradition and the individual personality.

(1) The prophetic speech as a messenger speech: -

C. Westermann followed the view of J. Lindblom and L. Köhler and confirmed it with comparative study on Mari-letters.⁴⁾

1) On the relation between Reproach and Threat Gunkel explained that the Threat (Drohrede) and the Reproach (Scheltrede) are originally separate and independent, but secondarily brought into connection by the prophets. H. W. Wolff changed the term 'Scheltrede' (reproach) into 'Begründung' (reason) and explained that the regular form of prophetic speech is a unity consisting of the reason (Begründung) and the threat (Drohrede).

2) C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, 1967.

3) *ibid.*, p. 90, cf. Robert Davidson, Biblical Criticism, 1970, p. 94.

4) *ibid.*, pp. 98f., 115f.

(2) "Gerichtsrede" as the basic form of prophetic speech, was the answer to the question "What is the specific form of prophetic speech?" C. Westermann classified it into two types of judgement speech: one is 'against individuals' (JI) and the other is its developed form - 'against Israel' (JN). He analysed some elements of JI-structure with three examples (Am. 7:16-17; I Ki. 21:18-19; II Ki. 1:3-4): Commissioning of the messenger, Summon to hear, Accusation, Messenger formula, Announcement.¹⁾ He agrees with H.W. Wolff that the origin of the speech is to be sought in the regular legal procedure. In JN-speech changes take place. A new and freer formation arises.

(3) The relation between tradition and the individual personality of the prophets: - He recognized that the judgement speeches vary according to each prophet. In the tradition of the prophetic speeches, "the most have a special and independent character through all kinds of variations of the basic form".²⁾ Therefore, he concludes: -

"The form-historical investigation of written prophecy should start with the definition and treatment of these variations, but this cannot be carried through to completion here."³⁾

Let us examine the particular forms which this tradition takes in Jeremiah ch. 2: the prophetic speech form, and the covenant Rib form.

1) *ibid.*, p. 130.

2) *ibid.*, pp. 173-4.

3) *ibid.*, p. 176.

II. Prophetic Speech Forms in Jeremiah Ch.2.

In Jeremiah Ch.2 we may find many of its characteristic prophetic speech forms in the materials of either prose and poetry sections. The prose section in Jeremiah ch.2 may be classified in the A^R (autobiographical redactor) group.

A. The Prophetic Speech formula in Jeremiah ch.2.

In his book entitled Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia, H.Wildberger¹⁾ dealing with all the formulae said: -

"A complete account of a revelation that has come to the prophet is composed of the following elements:

- a. Revelation-formula (die Revelationsformel)
- b. Prophetic commission (Prophetenbefehl)
- c. Summons (Hear the word of YHWH) (Aufruf)
- d. Messenger formula (Botenformel)
- e. Messenger speech (Botenspruch)
- f. Middle or concluding formula (Zwischenformel, Endformel)."²⁾

Following the analysis by H.Wildberger, we may classify the prophetic speech forms in Jeremiah Ch.2:1-3 first of all.

1. Revelation formula - Jer. 2:1

'The word of YHWH came to me.'

2. Prophetic commissioning formula - Jer. 2:2

'Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem.'

3. Messenger formula - Jer. 2:2

'Thus says YHWH.'

4. Messenger speech - Jer. 2:2-3

'I remember - .'

1) H.Wildberger, Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia, 1942.

2) *ibid.*, p. 49.

5. Concluding formula¹⁾ - Jer. 2:3

'The very oracle of YHWH.'

In the second section of Jeremiah 2:4-37 the classification may be made as follows: -

1. Proclamation formula - Jer. 2:4 (G.L. 2:31)

'Hear the word of YHWH.'

2. Messenger formula - Jer. 2:5 (G.L. 2:31)

'Thus says YHWH.'

3. Messenger speech - Jer. 2:5b-13; 14-19; 20-22; 23-28; 29-30; 31-37

Rib form (covenant-Rib form) - (לִיב : Jer. 2:9, 29)

Judgement speech formula - (with לִכְי) (Jer. 2:33)

4. Middle oracle formula - Jer. 2:9, 29 (G.L. 2:19)

'Oracle of YHWH.'

5. Concluding formula - Jer. 2:19, 22 (G.L. 2:17)

From the comparative study of MT and LXX texts a problem arises: -

1. The LXX begins this chapter (2) simply with 'And he said "Thus says YHWH"'.²⁾ Revelation formula (Jer. 2:1) and commissioning formula (2:2) are absent in the LXX.
2. In the LXX (Jer. 2:31) 'proclamation formula' and 'messenger formula' occur.³⁾

1) The NEB translates it with 'This is the very word of the Lord' (vv. 3, 19, 22).

2) See further, pp. 30, 50, 110f.

3) See further, pp. 38, 60.

3. In the LXX another oracle formula occurs in v.17 and v.19. It is a question whether the oracle formula in v.17 is originally a concluding formula and v.17c-19 is additional, or not.

In the literary analysis of the text another problem arises. The prophetic speech forms are found in prose and poetry sections:

1. Revelation formula (Jer. 2:1) and commissioning formula (2:2) occur in the prose section of the MT, in particular, in the A^R (autobiographical redactor) group.
2. The simple messenger formula and oracle formula occur in the poetry section.

Thus we are confronted with editorial and transmission problems.¹⁾

It is clearly stated in the biographical narrative of Jeremiah (Jer. 36) that Baruch wrote the 'Ur-Scroll' of the prophetic speech of Jeremiah: -

"Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah, and Baruch wrote upon a scroll at the dictation of Jeremiah all the words of YHWH which he had spoken to him." (36:4)

Jehoiakim the king of Judah

"cut (the pieces of the "Ur-Scroll") off with a penknife and threw them into the fire in the brazier, until the entire scroll was consumed in the fire that was in the brazier." (v.23)

1) C.Rietzschel, Das Problem der Urrolle, 1966.

T.H.Robinson, "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42, 1924, pp. 209-221.

"Then Jeremiah took another scroll and gave it to Baruch the scribe, who wrote on it at the dictation of Jeremiah all the words of the scroll which Jehoiakim king of Judah had burned in the fire; and many similar words were added to them." (36:32)

There is a long history in the transmission of the text from Baruch to the period of the destruction of the temple when the Massoretic type became dominant (A.D. 70-130).¹⁾

Even though we have such text-problems we must examine the prophetic speech in its form and meaning.

1. YHWH's oracle formula.²⁾

YHWH's oracle formula יהוה-נאם occurs most frequently in the book of Jeremiah.³⁾ In Jeremiah ch.2 this formula occurs five times. We may classify this oracle formula as follows: -

I. The oracle of YHWH and its variation.

1. The oracle of YHWH (יהוה-נאם) 2:3, 9, 12, 29;
2. The oracle of the Lord YHWH (אדני-יהוה) 2:22;
3. The oracle of the Lord YHWH of hosts (אדני יהוה צבאות) 2:19.

1) M.H.Goshen-Gottstein, The Book of Isaiah, The Hebrew University Bible Project, 1965, pp. 13-14.

2) On YHWH's oracle formula: -

R.Rendtorff, "Zum Gebrauch der Formel ne'um jahwe im Jeremia-buch", ZAW 66, 1954, pp. 27-37.

F.Baumgärtel, "Die Formel ne'um jahwe", ZAW 73, 1961, pp. 277-289. "Zu den Gottesnamen in Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel", in Rudolph-Festschrift, Verbannung und Heimkehr, Tübingen, 1961, pp. 1-29.

3) cf. Appendix A, pp. 134-137.

II. The place of the oracle formula in the prophetic speech:

1. ending (concluding formula);
 - a. single form, 2:12 (with כִּי);
 - b. with rhetorical question (לֹמֶה), 2:29;
 - c. with 'introductory messenger formula'

(כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה), 2:2-3, 2:4-19 (2:4-13 + 14-19).¹⁾
2. middle; in the parallelism, 2:9.

There is no occurrence of the heading usage in Jeremiah ch.

2.²⁾ This formula is not always used with 'koh amar YHWH', but rather in simple form to emphasize the prophetic messenger speech as the word of YHWH. A question arises: What is the background of this formula? The personal usage of the oracle is found in the Old Testament: in the oracle of Balaam (Num. 24:3-24).

The oracle of Balaam is the earliest example of this formula in the Old Testament, and also it has some links with Jeremiah ch.2. Then we must examine to find out the characteristics of the oracle of Balaam in relation to Jeremiah ch.2.

Oracle of Balaam (Num. 24:3-24).

It is clearly introduced by the word 'ne'um (oracle), which appears in prophetic sayings as a transitional or concluding

1) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB, p. 17.

2:4-13 section is second masculine pl.; 2:14-19 is second feminine singular. These verses belong together and have their own introduction (4, 5) and its concluding formula (19).

2) cf. Appendix A, p. 137.

formula.¹⁾ It has similarities with Jeremiah ch.2 in its literary characteristics: -

- a. 'O Jacob' and 'O Israel' (v.5) occur in parallelism²⁾, (Num. 24:5, 17, 18-9). This usage seems to be the tradition of Sinai-Horeb-pericope, (Ex. 19:3; cf. Dt. 32:8-9, Asaph-Ps. 78:5, 21, 71; 81:5, 105:10, 23; Jer. 2:4; Hos. 12:13).
- b. The Exodus-tradition is cited here (Num. 24:8; 23:22), 'God brings (מִצְרַיִם) him out of Egypt', (cf. Jer. 2:6).
- c. Assonance repetitions occur³⁾: -
Oracle of Balaam, Oracle of the man whose sight is clear (vv.3, 15) (נֹאֵם, וְנֹאֵם);
Oracle of listener to the words of God, (vv.4, 16) (נֹאֵם);
See the vision of the Almighty (vv.4, 16b) (מַחְזֶה יַחְזֶה);
Blessed be every one who blesses you (v.9) (מְבֹרָכִים: בְּרוּךְ);
Cursed be every one who curses you (v.9) (אֲרוּרִים: אָרוּר);
knows the knowledge of the Most High (v.16a) (יָדַע: דַּעַת).
- d. Rhetorical question form occurs (v.9).⁴⁾
 'Who will rouse him up?' (מִי יִקְיִמֵנוּ) cf. Jer. 2:28).

1) G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1970, p. 353.

2) S.R.Driver, Exodus, CamB., pp. 169-70.
 - "Jacob, as a poet.synonym of 'Israel' occurs also often besides in the prophets, in the Pent. only in Gen. 49:7, Nu. 23:7, 10, 21, 23, 24:5, 17, 19, Dt. 33:4, 10, 28)."

3) On the ceremonial character of the message style:
 M.Noeth, Beyerlin, J.Muilenburg.

W.F.Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, London, 1968, p.13.

4) cf. see further, pp. 265, 93f.

- e. The oracle against nations is parallel with the one in Jeremiah. Num. 24:17,

"He shall crush the forehead of Moab,
break down (קרקר) all the sons of Sheth"
(שת).

Jer. 48:45,

"He has destroyed the forehead of Moab,
the crown (קדקד)¹⁾ of the sons of tumult"
(שארן).

- f. Balaam was a person who recited a poetical parable,
(משל : ישא : Num. 24:3).²⁾

Thus it seems clear that there are literary and tradition links between the oracle of Balaam and Jeremiah 2, which have Exodus and Sinai traditions, repetition style, rhetorical question and prophetic poetry in common.

2. Introductory Messenger Formula.

The introductory messenger formula "כֹּה אָמַר יְהוָה" (thus says YHWH) occurs most frequently in the book of Jeremiah.³⁾ In Jeremiah ch.2 it occurs twice in the MT (vv.2, 5) and the LXX (vv.5, 31).

- 1) ' קדקד ' (head, crown of head) occurs esp. in poet.:
Gen. 49:26 (Jacob's blessing) = Dt. 33:16 (Moses' blessing),
Is. 3:17 (Rib : v.13), Jer. 2:16, 48:45.
- 2) The book of Jeremiah has a link with 'the book of the wars of YHWH' (Num. 21:14), 'a certain poem which bards sing' (Num. 21:27f.) מְשִׁלִּים Jer. 48:46, Num. 21:29.
- 3) See Appendix B, pp. 138-140.

In ch.2:2 this messenger formula is put at the beginning of the messenger speech (vv.2b-3) and used with the concluding formula "ne'um YHWH" (נְאֻם יְהוָה).

In ch.2:5 the messenger formula occurs at the beginning of the prophetic speech (vv.5-19).

This messenger formula occurs neither at the end nor in the middle of the messenger speech, but only at the beginning.

New research on the prophetic speech forms begins with L.Köhler's and J.Lindblom's works.¹⁾ Both of them paid attention to the messenger speech form. L.Köhler called it 'the introductory formula', and J.Lindblom 'the oracle formula'.

In new introductions to the Old Testament²⁾ this formula is taken up by A.Bentzen (1948), O.Eissfeldt (1934, ET.1965), A.Weiser (1948, ET.1961), G.W.Anderson (1960), and G.Fohrer (1965, ET.1968).

Bentzen said in his Introduction to the Old Testament: -

- 1) L.Köhler, Kleine Lichte, 1945.
Deuteriojesaja: stilkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37, 1923.
 J.Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, 1962.
- 2) A.Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1948, Vol.I, p. 198.
 O.Eissfeldt, The Old Testament : An Introduction, 1965, p. 78.
 A.Weiser, Introduction to the O.T., 1961, pp. 47-48.
 G.W.Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the O.T., London, 1960, p. 100.
 G.Fohrer, op. cit., p. 350.

"We have to notice that the prophetic oracle like other types of literature has its specific formulas characterizing it as a word of Yahweh, i.e. the well-known phrases 'thus saith the Lord' - at the beginning -".¹⁾

F.Baumgärtel pointed out that this scheme 'koh amar YHWH - ne'um YHWH' obviously belongs initially to the diction of the "Schriftpropheten".²⁾

3. Revelation formula.

The revelation formula (דבר-יהוה אל- : the word of YHWH came to N.N) occurs very often in the book of Jeremiah.³⁾

There are three kinds of this formula (autobiographical, biographical, and Jeremiah-the-prophet-style).³⁾ In Jeremiah ch.2:1 the 'autobiographical-word revelation formula' occurs in the MT, but in the LXX the primitive form is preserved.⁴⁾

The autobiographical word revelation formula includes the following characteristics: -

- a. The prophetic call of Jeremiah (ch.1:4-19);
- b. The symbolic action of Jeremiah (13:1-11; 16:1-9; 18:1-12; 32:6-15);
- c. The prophetic vision of Jeremiah (24:1-7).

These are all described in 'A^R' sources (autobiographical redaction).⁵⁾

1) A.Bentzen, op. cit., p. 198.

2) F.Baumgärtel, op. cit., ZAW 73, 1961, p. 284.

3) See Appendix C. Editorial Revelation Formula, pp. 141-144.

4) See further, pp. 30, 50.

5) cf. p.65.

J.Bright classified with symbol A¹ and explained:/...

Recent studies of 'form criticism' have shed new light upon the word-revelation formula.¹⁾ This formula is varyingly called 'Revelation-Formula' (Revelationsformel) by H.Wildberger, 'Formula of receiving God's word' (Wortempfangsformel) by Reventlow and K.Koch, and 'Word event formula' by Zimmerli. S.Mowinckel interprets this Hebrew expression as 'the word of Jahveh became active reality for N.N.'. ²⁾

What is the background of this revelation formula?

- a. In many texts in Samuel and Kings we find it in a narrative context, reporting in the third person that the word of YHWH had come to a prophet.³⁾ In Ezekiel this formula appears exclusively in the first person formulation.⁴⁾ In Jeremiah we can find this formula either in the third person (biographical) or in the first person (autobiographical).

.../"I suggest, that a special category be created for them and that we call this category (provisionally) A¹. I believe that this material had a history in some ways parallel to that of A. Whereas in A we have the remembered and recorded public utterance of Jeremiah, here we have his personal reminiscences, either as set down by himself or as recorded by his disciples."
(J.Bright, "The Prophetic Reminiscence: its place and function in the book of Jeremiah," 1966, p. 19.)

- 1) H.Wildberger, op. cit., p. 49.
H.G.Reventlow, "Prophetenamt und Mittleramt", ZThK 58, 1961, p. 274.
K.Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, 1969, p. 202.
W.Zimmerli, "The Special Form- and Traditio-Historical Character of Ezekiel's Prophecy", VT 15, 1965, pp. 515-527.
- 2) S.Mowinckel, Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den Propheten, 1941, p.19.
- 3) See further, p. 115.
- 4) W.Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 516.

- b. As to this formula (word revelation) there is a discussion¹⁾ whether this is an addition by later redactors or comes from an older source of tradition. It seems that this formula has been transmitted orally among the disciples of the prophets and written by redactors using the biographical or autobiographical style.
- c. According to "the law of prophets" in Deuteronomy 18:22, it is written,

"When a prophet speaks in the name of the Lord, if the word does not come to pass (יְהִיָּה) or come true (יִבֹּא) that is a word which the Lord has not spoken."

So when prophets themselves or disciples of prophets or redactors make sure that he (the prophet) is a true prophet of YHWH, they should emphasize the criterion 'the word of YHWH to him came to pass (יְהִיָּה) or came true (יִבֹּא)'.

What is the characteristic of this word revelation formula in Jer. 2:1?

- a. It is written in 'autobiographical discourses' (A^R).

This is not only a simple introduction formula of a prophetic speech, but rather based upon the personal call experience of the prophet Jeremiah himself.

1) K.Koch, op. cit., p. 202. He insists that the 'formula for receiving God's word' could perhaps be explained as an addition by later redactors.

O.H.Steck, "Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen", WMANT 26, 1968, p. 42.

"die Formeln - doch bei den ältesten ihm verbundenen Tradenten verwendet wurden".

- b. This appears in the prophetic speech of Jeremiah. It indicates that the prophetic speech of Jeremiah is completely dependent on the word revelation of YHWH.

The prophet wants to emphasize his own experience that he has been invaded by One who is greater than he. 'The word of YHWH has come over me.' The whole accent lies on the word of YHWH.¹⁾

Note on the 'Revelation formula' (וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי)
elsewhere in the Old Testament.²⁾

Samuel	- I Sam.15:10
Nathan	- 2 Sam.7:4 = I Chr.17:3
Gad	- 2 Sam.24:11
Shemaiah	- I Kings 12:22 = 2 Chr.11:2, 2 Chr.12:7
The prophet in Bethel	- I Kings 13:20
Jehu the son of Hanani	- I Kings 16:1
Elija	- I Ki.17:2,8, 18:1, 21:17,28
Isaiah	- Is.38:4 = 2 Ki.20:4
Ezekiel (50t)	- Ez.1:3, 3:16, 6:1, 7:1, 11:14, 12:1,8,17, 21,26; 13:1, 14:2,12, 15:1, 16:1, 17:1,11, 18:1, 20:2, 21:1,6,13,23, 22:1,17,23, 23:1, 24:1,15,20, 25:1, 26:1, 27:1, 28:1,11,20, 29:1,17, 30:1,20, 31:1, 32:1,17, 33:1,23, 34:1, 35:1, 36:16, 37:15, 38:1.
Hosea	- Hos.1:1

1) cf. W.Zimmerli, op. cit., p. 527.

2) On the 'Revelation Formula' in the book of Jeremiah, see further, pp. 141-144 (Appendix C).

Joel	- Joel 1:1
Jonah	- Jon.1:1, 3:1
Micah	- Mic.1:1
Zephaniah	- Zeph.1:1
Haggai	- Hag.2:20
Zechariah	- Zech.1:1,7, 4:8, 6:9, 7:1,4,8, 8:1,18.

In Ezekiel only the autobiographical word revelation formula appears (in the first person formulation), and moreover with very great frequency.

In Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Jonah, Micah, Zephaniah, Zechariah, this revelation formula is written in the beginning of the prophetic books. It seems to be 'editorial' revelation formula to make them 'YHWH's prophet'.

4. Prophetic commissioning formula.

The prophetic commissioning formula occurs ~~once~~ in Jeremiah ch.2.2. MT¹⁾: 'Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem.'

This formula which is the infinitive absolute of the verb (הלוך) followed by the perfect consecutive occurs often in the book of Jeremiah and elsewhere.²⁾

1) In the LXX this is not found.

2) 'Go and wash' (הלוך ורחצת) II Kings 5:10.

The commissioning formula is connected with the 'prophetic personal call experience'.

- | | |
|----------|--|
| Hos. 1:2 | - <u>Go, take</u> to yourself a wife (לך קח-לך) |
| 3:1 | - <u>Go, again love</u> a woman (עוד לך אהב) |
| Is. 6:9 | - <u>Go, and say</u> to this people (לך ואמרת) |
| Am. 7:15 | - Go, and prophesy to my people Israel (לך הונא) |
| Jer. 1:7 | - You shall go - and you shall speak (תלך תדבר) |

- a. 'Go and proclaim' (הלך וקראת : Jer.2:2, 3:12 (AutoB)
- b. 'Go and buy' (הלך וקנית : Jer.13:1,19:1 (AutoB)
- c. 'Go and stand' (הלך ועמדת : Jer.17:19 (AutoB)
- d. 'Go and say' (הלך ואמרת : Jer.28:13, 34:2, 35:13,
39:16 (B)
- e. 'Go and speak' (הלך ודברת : Jer.35:2, 2 Sam.24:12,
Is. 38:5 (B)

This commissioning formula is described in the autobiographical (AutoB) or biographical (B) prose section, and between the revelation formula and messenger formula.¹⁾

Jer.2:1 - 'The word of YHWH came to me' (revelation formula).

2 - 'Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem'.

"thus says YHWH". (messenger formula).

What are the characteristics of the prophetic commissioning formula²⁾ in Jeremiah ch.2:2?

- 1) In biographical prose narrative it occurs with revelation formula and messenger formula.

Jer.28:13 - 'The word of YHWH came to Jeremiah,
'Go, tell Hananiah,
"thus says YHWH"'.
Jer.34:1-2 'The word which came to Jeremiah from YHWH
thus says YHWH, the God of Israel
Go and speak to Zedekiah.'

In autobiographical prose it is simply written with 'And YHWH said to me' or 'thus says YHWH', except Jer.2:2 (MT, not LXX).

Jer.3:12 "And YHWH said to me, 'Go and proclaim!'
Jer.13:1 "Thus said YHWH to me, 'Go and buy!'
Jer.17:19 "Thus said YHWH to me, 'Go and stand!'

- 2) I use this term 'commissioning' for 'Go and say' or 'you shall say' in the prophetic speech form, following C.Westermann.
C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, pp. 100, 103.

- a. Its combination with 'Go' and 'proclaim'.

The term 'proclaim' (קָרָא) is employed to indicate a public speech or sermon in a public place.¹⁾ Here it is in Jerusalem.

- b. Such a phrase indicates that the prophetic speech or sermon was based upon a personal reception of the revelation. And when and wherever the formula occurs, it indicates that the following speech was publicly proclaimed as what YHWH had ordered the prophet to go and say.
- c. This prophetic commissioning formula (Jer. 2:2) must be connected with Jeremiah's prophetic personal call-experience as well as Hosea's (Hos. 1:2, 3:1), Isaiah's (Is. 6:9), and Amos's (Am. 7:15).
- d. The editor responsible for the autobiographical style²⁾ put this prophetic commissioning formula in the prophetic messenger form to emphasize that Jeremiah is really a true prophet of YHWH and a messenger of YHWH proclaiming YHWH's authoritative word.

1) cf. J.Lindblom, Prophecy in Ancient Israel, p. 153.

BDB explains that the meaning of ' קָרָא ' here is to make proclamation (Jer. 2:2; Jud. 7:3; etc.). Another meaning is to read aloud (often with ' סֵפֶר ') a roll, book (Jer. 36:6, 8, 14, 15, 21, 23).

2) The editorial usage of this term reminds us of the redaction history in connection with reading (קָרָא) the 'Ur-Scroll' in the Jerusalem Temple and the additional words which were written in the second scroll (Jer. 36).

5. Proclamation formula.¹⁾

The proclamation formula ('Hear the word of YHWH' - שמעו דבר יהוה) occurs frequently in the book of Jeremiah,²⁾ and once in ch.2.³⁾

2:4 'Hear the word of YHWH, O house of Jacob,
all families in the house of
Israel.'

This proclamation formula includes the following characteristics: -

a. It appears with the messenger formula.

i. with 'thus says YHWH' (כה אמר יהוה)

2:4-5, 10:1-2, 17:20-21, 21:11-12, 22:2-3, 29-30,
34:4.

1) H.W.Wolff, Hosea, BK, pp. 82-3. He called it 'Proklamations-formel'.

J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL, p. 5. He called it 'Proclamation formula'.

H.Wildberger, op. cit., p. 49. He used another term 'Aufruf' (Summons).

2) Lisowsky, 2:4, 7:2, 9:19, 10:1, 17:20, 19:3, 21:11, 22:2, 29, 29:20, 31:10, 34:4, 42:15, 44:24, 26.

O.Grether, Name und Wort Gottes im A.T., BZAW 64, 1934, p. 69. He did not mention Jer. 10:1 among them,^{now} Josh.3:9.

In the O.T. elsewhere: -

Joshua - Josh. 3:9

Micaiah - I Ki. 22:19 = 2 Chr. 18:18

Elisha - 2 Ki. 7:1

Isaiah - Is. 1:10, 28:14, 39:5 = 2 Ki. 20:16, Is. 66:5

Ezekiel - Ez. 6:3, 13:2, 16:35, 21:3, 25:3, 34:7, 9,
36:1, 4, 37:4

Hosea - Hos. 4:1, (5:1)

Amos - Am. 3:1, 4:1, 7:16, 8:4 (11).

3) Jer. 2:31 LXX (Latin) read ἀκούετε (שמעו) for יאז

ii. with 'thus says YHWH of hosts God of Israel'

(כה אמר יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל)

7:2-3, 19:3, 29:20-21, 42:15, 44:24-25.

b. It occurs with the covenant conditional phrase 'if' and 'if not'.

- with 'if' (אם), 17:24 ('if you listen to Me'),
22:4, 7:5, 42:15b, 44:26b.

- with 'if not' (לא אם), 17:27 ('if you do not listen to Me'), 22:5.

What is the background of this formula?

1. Cultic background (of covenant renewal or penitential service).¹⁾

a. We may find a similar formula in Ps. 50:7, 81:9, Dt.6:4.

Ps.50:7 - 'Hear O My people, and I will speak, O Israel'.

81:9 - 'Hear, O My people, - O Israel'.

Dt. 6:4 - 'Hear, O Israel, YHWH our God is one Lord'.

'My people' indicates 'covenant people' of YHWH, and
'YHWH our God' means 'covenant God' of Israel.²⁾ The theme
of these passages is the confirmation of the covenant
relationship between YHWH and Israel.

'O Israel, if you would but listen to me!'
(Ps. 81:9b).

This 'proclamation formula' occurred in the covenant
renewal festival. The most important prerequisite for
the renewal is precisely faithfulness to YHWH³⁾ (to listen
to the word of YHWH).

1) See pp. 288ff.

2) H.-J.Kraus, Psalmen, I, p. 376.

3) cf. A.Weiser, The Psalms, OTL, p. 394.

- b. This is based on the ancient covenant tradition (Ex.19-3-8).¹⁾ The Sinai covenant includes a condition: 'Now if you will obey my voice'.

2. Legal background of Torah.

We can find the same formula in Hos.4:1 (cf. Jer. 21:11-12, 22:2-3). The violation against Torah is mentioned in Hos. 4:2 : -

Hos.4:1 - 'Hear the word of YHWH, O people of Israel:
For YHWH has Rib (רִיב) with the inhabitants
of the land.
There is no faithfulness or kindness,
and no knowledge of God in the land.
2 - there is swearing, lying, killing,
stealing, and committing adultery;
they break all bounds and murder follows murder.'

These are corresponding to the decalogue.²⁾ In the actual circumstances of Israel's breaking the covenant and Torah, the prophets (Hosea, Jeremiah) proclaimed the covenant Rib speech (Hos. 4:1f., Jer.2).

3. Faith in the living God.

In Josh.3:9 - 'And Joshua said to the people of Israel,
"Hear the words of YHWH your God"
And Joshua said, "Hereby you shall know
that the living God is among you -".'

The proclamation formula is connected with (faith in the living God' who reveals Himself in the saving history by mighty acts:

Am.3:1 - 'Hear this word that YHWH has spoken against you,
O people of Israel, against the whole family which
I brought up (העלית) out of the land of Egypt.'

1) See further, pp. 236ff.

2) "Killing" (cf. 6th : Ex.20:13, Dt.5:17, לֹא תרצח)
"Stealing" (cf. 8th : Ex.20:15, Dt.5:19, לֹא תגנוב)
"Adultery" (cf. 7th : Ex.20:14, Dt.5:18, לֹא תנאף)

4. Proclamation of Judgement.

When the people did not listen to the word of YHWH, for this disobedience, YHWH brought evil (judgement) upon the people: -

'Micaiah said, "therefore (לכן) hear the word of YHWH, YHWH has spoken evil concerning you.' (I Kings 22:19,23)

What are the characteristics of the proclamation formula in Jeremiah ch.2:4?

- a. The Sinai covenant tradition : The synonymous parallelism of Jacob/Israel is a Sinai-Horeb tradition which occurs in Ex. 19:3b.
- b. It is not only the proclamation of prophetic speech, but also the indication of covenant-Rib (the breach of covenant).
- c. This proclamation formula manifests faith in the living God (v.13), YHWH who acts in the salvation history (v.6-7).¹⁾

6. Messenger Speech Formula.

The BHK 3 made the distinction between prose and poetry in the text of Jeremiah ch.2 and recent translations have followed it.

The prose oracles in Jeremiah 2 may be classified in 'autobiographical redaction' (symbol A^R).²⁾ Prophetic speech formulae occur in this A^R discourse in Jeremiah ch.2, namely 'the revelation

1) See further, pp. 353ff.

2) See p. 65.

formula', 'the prophetic commissioning formula', 'the introductory messenger formula', and 'the proclamation formula'.¹⁾

as an introduction to their oracles and from them inherited by the classical prophets. This formula was no invention by the prophets of Israel, but belonged to the oracular terminology of the ancient world.¹⁾ In the Old Testament there are many examples of this stylistic peculiarity: -

i) Jacob's case in Genesis 32:4-5.

Report of the sending:	And Jacob sent messengers before him.
Addressee:	to Esau his brother.
Place:	in the land of Seir, the country of Edom.
Introduction to the commissioning:	instructing them.
Commissioning of the messenger:	thus you shall say to my lord Esau.
Introductory messenger formula:	thus says your servant Jacob.
Messenger's speech:	I have sojourned with Laban, -

ii) Joseph's case in Gen. 45:4, 9.

Report of the sending:	Joseph said to his brothers "Haste (you) -"
Addressee:	to my father.

1) J.Lindblom, op. cit., p. 103.

L.Köhler, Deuterojesaja, stilkkritisch untersucht, 1923, pp. 102-5.

Kleine Lichter, 1945, pp. 13-17.

C.Westermann, op. cit., pp. 98-115.

Commissioning:	and say to him.
Introductory messenger formula:	thus says your son Joseph.
Messenger's speech	
report and imperative:	God has made me lord of all Egypt.

These occur in narratives, and the sender is not YHWH but Jacob and Joseph. Another example is offered by the Balaam story in Num. 22:5f.

b. Messenger speech in the Mari-letters.¹⁾

The recent studies on the Mari texts have been shedding special light on such Old Testament fields of study as covenant-making²⁾, and prophecy³⁾, as well as the

1) Information concerning Mari-letters in outline: -

H.Lewy, "Mari", in IBD.

W.Röllig, "Mari", in RGK 3 ed., Vol.4, 1960, pp. 744-747.

D.N.Freedman, "Mari", in HDB 2 ed., 1963, p. 618.

A.Parrot, "Mari", in Archaeology and O.T. Study, 1967, pp.136-144.

2) M.Noth, "Old Testament Covenant-Making in the Light of a Text from Mari", in The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies, 1966, Edinburgh. - LPOS -

3) W.von Soden, "Verkündigung des Gotteswillens durch prophetisches Wort in den altbabylonischen Briefen aus Mari", in Die Welt des Orients, 1950, pp. 397-403.

A.Lods, "Une tablette inédite de Mari", in T.H.Robinson-Festschrift, Studies in O.T. Prophecy, 1956, pp. 103-10.

H.Schmökel, "Gotteswort in Mari und Israel", TLZ 1951, cols. 53-58.

M.Noth, "History and Word of God in the Old Testament", (HWGOT), 1949, in The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Studies, 1966.

Remarks on the 6th Volume of Mari Texts, JSS 1, 1956, pp.322-33

H.B.Huffman, "Prophecy in the Mari Letters", BA 31, 1968, pp. 101-124.

A.Malamat, "Prophetic Revelations in New Documents from Mari/...

Patriarchs.¹⁾ In particular several Mari texts shed a unique and appreciable light on the source and nature of Old Testament prophecy.

In 1932 Prof. W. F. Albright suggested that Tell Hariri, near the Iraq-Syria boundary line, must have been ancient Mari. Confirmation was gained by excavation: In 1933 the French archaeologist, André Parrot began the excavation. The results were to become one of the most sensational discoveries in a generation of very interesting archaeological finds.²⁾ The important buildings uncovered were:³⁾ a. a temple of the goddess Ishtar, b. a ziqqur-at, or temple tower, c. the palace of Mari.

Mari's most valuable bequest to us is doubtless the royal archives. Since the publication, between 1948-1954, of six documents from Mari (ARM: Archives royales de Mari, I-VI)⁴⁾, various scholars have discussed the problem of the similarity and difference between the prophets (diviners) in the Mari texts and

.../and the Bible", SVT 15, 1966, pp. 207-227.

W.L.Moran, "New Evidence from Mari on the History of Prophecy", Bibl. 50, 1969, pp. 15-56.

F.Ellermeier, "Prophetie in Mari und Israel", Theologische und Orientalische Arbeiten 1, Herzberg, 1968.

1) J.C.L.Gibson, "Light from Mari on the Patriarchs", JSS 7, 1962, pp. 44-62.

2) G.E.Mendenhall, "Mari", BA 11, 1948, p. 2.

3) H.Lewy, op. cit., p. 264.

4) ARM. (Archives royales de Mari, Musee du Louvre, ed. by A.Parrot & G.Dossin.

A.Lods, op. cit., pp. 103-106.

the Old Testament prophets.¹⁾

The new "prophetic documents", published recently in Volume XIII of the Royal Archives of Mari, present a number of different designations for "Prophets" and a variety of types. We can find similarities in the figure as the messenger of God, and in the messenger speech formula.²⁾

i. Similarities: -

- 1 - Messenger of God. - God sends his messenger to deliver his word.

ARM. II.90

"Speak to my lord: the message of Kibri-Dagan, your servant. - Dagan spoke a word to me, as follows. 'As for making the (pagra'u-) sacrifices, Dagan sent me.'"

ARM. III.40

"Speak to my lord: the message of Kibri-Dagan, your servant. - the muhhu-ecstatic of Dagan came and spoke a word to me as follows, saying, 'The God sent me. Hurry, write to the king that they dedicate the funerary offerings to the spirit of Yahdum-lim.' This is what that (muhhu-) ecstatic said to me, and I have now written to my lord."

1) A.Malamat, op. cit., SVT. 15, 1966, pp. 207-210.

L.Köhler, J.Lindblom, M.Nothing, C.Westermann, H.H.Rowley recognized the similarity between the prophets in the Mari texts and in the O.T.

Doubt was expressed by H.M.Orlinsky: Oriens Antiquus, IV, 1965, p. 170. "It is divination and not prophecy that finds its parallels in the Mari-documents."

2) M.Nothing, op. cit. (NWOT), p. 186 : "The similarity between these messengers of God in the middle Euphrates with Old Testament Prophets cannot be denied. Thus it can hardly be doubted that the figure of the messenger of God now made known to us in the Mari-Texts reappears in the prophets of the/...

ARM.XIII.114

"Speak to my lord: the message of Kibri-Dagan, your servant. The day I had this tablet of mine taken to my lord, before the darkening of the mountain, a certain wife of a citizen came and spoke to me concerning the news of Babylon as follows, saying, 'Dagan sent me'.¹⁾"

In these texts we meet the figure of a messenger of god, described in the following way: "Dagan sent me", "the god sent me", "the god Dagan sent me".

2 - The messenger speech formula.

In the Mari texts, we find the messenger speech formula.

"Speak to my lord, the message of Kibri-Dagan, your servant."
 "Dagan spoke a word to me as follows, saying,"
 "The god (Dagan) sent me - (message),"
 (ARM.II. 90, III.40).

RA.XLII (A.15)²⁾

"Speak to my lord: the message of Itur-asdu, your servant.
 - Before I left, he spoke as follows, saying,
 - 'Now go! I send you to Zimri-lim (the king of Mari).
 This is what you shall say: 'Send your messengers to me and put your full report before me - '."²⁾

In these texts we meet the messenger speech formula including: -

'commissioning formula' : (speak! Now go!);

mention of the addressee : (to my lord, to Zimri-lim);

.../Old Testament."

- 1) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., on ARM.II.90, p. 116; ARM.III.40, p.113; ARM.XIII.114, p. 116.
- 2) RA: Revue d'Assyriologie, A.15 - A full edition by Dossin in Revue d'Assyriologie, XLII, 1948, pp. 125-134.
- 3) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 117.

'introductory messenger formula': (Dagan spoke a word to
to me as follows).

The similarity between these messengers of God in the middle Euphrates with the Old Testament prophets cannot be denied, as Martin Noth has mentioned.¹⁾ They, too, categorically state that they are the messengers of God: they too proclaim the prophecy with which they have been charged, without being asked or requested. The usual introduction to their prophecy - "thus saith God" - is the traditional formula by which a messenger is represented as a man charged with the delivering of a verbal message.²⁾

ii. Differences between Messenger-figure in the Mari-texts and in the O.T.

Even though we recognize that there are similarities between them in the figure as the messenger of God and the messenger speech formula, some differences immediately become manifest: -

1) M.Noth, op. cit., HWGOT, p. 186.

2) ibid., p. 185.

Note on this problem:

H.H.Rowley pointed out moreover in From Moses to Qumran, 1963, p. 113.

- "The view that the Hebrew prophets were an entirely unique phenomenon in the religious history of the world - unique not only in the spiritual level they attained, but in the whole character of their work - is one that cannot be maintained. More recently evidence of prophets at Mari at a much earlier date has come to light. It is therefore quite impossible to treat Hebrew prophecy as an isolated phenomenon. It grew out of a background of ancient Near Eastern prophecy, going back very far and spreading widely."

1 - Messenger of YHWH.

Prophets in the Old Testament are the prophets of YHWH.

They are messengers of YHWH to deliver YHWH's word to His people Israel.

2 - The contents of the message.

The message of the prophets in the Mari-texts deals with political and cultic matters of very limited significance.¹⁾

The common contents of the messages in the Mari texts is an announcement of salvation. On the occasion of announcement of judgment, it is the conditional announcement of judgment: the unconditional announcement of ill or judgment is completely missing from the Mari texts.²⁾

ARM.XIII.112

"The god (it was who did speak)
'Build not this house:
if thou wilt build it I shall cast it into the
river!"³⁾

1) M.Noth, Baltzer, C.Westermann, H.B.Huffman, pointed out this.

M.Noth, op. cit., HWGOT, p. 187.

K.Baltzer, "Considerations regarding the Office and Calling of the Prophet", HR 61, 1968, pp. 567-581, p. 568.

C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 123f.

H.B.Huffman, "Prophecy in the Mari Letters", BA 31, 1968, p. 123.

For example: ARM.II.90 : "As for making the (pagra'u) sacrifices, Dagan sent me, Send to your lord and let the pagra'u-sacrifices be made on the 14th day of the coming month. Let them not overlook this sacrifice in any way."
(H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 116).

2) C.Westermann, op. cit., pp. 127-8.

3) A.Malamat, op. cit., SVT.15, 1966, p. 223.

Thus there are some similarities and differences between the prophets in the Mari texts and in the Old Testament in the form and content of their respective messages, but the most important result for the history and understanding of prophetic speech in the Old Testament is that the character of the prophetic speeches as messenger speeches is now fully confirmed by the religio-historical background shown in the Mari letters.¹⁾

B. Uniqueness of the Prophetic Speech Form
in Jeremiah ch.2.

What are the characteristics of the prophetic speech form in Jer.2.?

a. First of all this prophetic speech form is clothed with the traditional 'messenger speech formula'.

"Go and proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem"
"thus says YHWH" - "the very oracle of YHWH".

Jeremiah's character is that of a messenger of YHWH, commissioned by YHWH to deliver a message from YHWH to His people Israel. The biographer of the book of Jeremiah (ch.26) describes Jeremiah as having 'messenger-consciousness':

"Then Jeremiah spoke to all the princes and all the people, saying, "YHWH sent me to prophesy against this house and this city all the words you have heard.- for in truth YHWH sent me to you to speak all these words in your ears." (26:12, 15).

The prophetic speech form of Jeremiah is not only clothed with the 'messenger speech formula', but more precisely, is based on Jeremiah's prophetic life and activity as the messenger of YHWH.

1) C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 128.

b. The prophetic messenger speech formula in Jeremiah ch.2 is confined to the autobiographical redaction section (2:1-2a). The A^R section contains a prophetic vocation narrative (1:4-19), a prophetic symbolic action (13:1-11, 16:1, etc.) and a prophetic vision narrative (24:1-7). It indicates how the word of YHWH became an active reality for Jeremiah, and how the word of YHWH became an event in Jeremiah's life.

"The word of YHWH came to me." (וַיְהִי דְבַר-יְהוָה אֵלַי)

It manifests that every prophetic speech of Jeremiah is absolutely dependent on the word revelation of YHWH.

In relation to the law of the prophet in Dt. 18:22, the word-revelation formula seems to be formulated to stress that Jeremiah is a true prophet of YHWH. This is the autobiographical redactional emphasis.

c. The proclamation formula in Jer. 2:4 seems to be a liturgical covenant (renewal) formula.

The poetic synonymous parallelism of 'house of Jacob' and 'the house of Israel' is a Sinai-covenant tradition usage (Ex. 19:3b).

The proclamation formula "Hear the word of YHWH" (v.4) is the covenant proclamation in connection with the covenant condition in Ex. 19:5.

"Now if you will obey (שְׁמַרְעַת חֲשָׁמְעַר) My voice."
(Ex. 19:5).

d. The prophetic speech in Jeremiah ch.2 is not only a messenger speech, but YHWH's prophetic speech: Jeremiah is not only a

messenger, but also a true prophet of YHWH like Moses - the covenant mediator.

e. The comprehensive usage of prophetic speech formulae is the work of the redactor who edited the material, so as to collect prophetic speeches of Jeremiah under particular subjects:¹⁾

ch.2 concerns the covenant Rib.

-
- 1) Ch. 7 - concerns the temple sermon.
Ch. 17:19-27 - concerns the keeping of the sabbath.
Ch. 19 - concerns Tophet.
Ch. 22 - concerns the house of the king of Judah.
Ch. 34 - concerns king Zedekiah.

See further p. 145, (Appendix D).

APPENDIX A.

YHWH's oracle formula.

I. YHWH's oracle formula and its variation.

1. The oracle of YHWH (נאם יהוה) 162t.
 1:8, 15, 19; 2:3, 9, 12, 29; 3:1, 10, 12, 12, 13, 14, 16,
 20; 4:1, 9, 17; 5:9, 11, 15, 18, 22, 29; 6:12; 7:11,
 13, 19, 30, 32; 8:1, 13, 17; 9:3, 6, 9, 22, 24, 25;
 12:17; 13:11; 14:25; 15:3, 6, 9, 20; 16:5, 11, 14, 16;
 17:14; 18:6; 19:6, 12; 21:7, 10, 13, 14; 22:5, 16, 24;
 23:1, 2, 4, 5, 7, 11, 12, 23, 24, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32,
 32, 33; 25:7, 9, 12, 31; 27:8, 11, 15, 22; 28:4; 29:9,
 11, 14, 14, 19, 19, 23, 32; 30:3, 10, 11, 17, 21; 31:1,
 14, 16, 17, 20, 27, 28, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38; 32:5,
 30, 40; 33:14; 34:5, 17, 22; 35:13; 39:17, 18; 42:11;
 44:29; 45:5; 46:5, 23, 26, 28; 48:12, 25, 30, 35, 38,
 43, 44, 47; 49:2, 6, 13, 16, 30, 31, 37, 38, 39; 50:4,
 10, 20, 21, 30, 35, 40; 51:24, 25, 26, 39, 48, 52, 53.
2. The oracle of the Lord YHWH (אדני יהוה) 1t. 2:22.
3. The oracle of the Lord YHWH of hosts (אדני יהוה צבאות)
 3t. - 2:19; 49:5; 50:31.
4. The oracle of YHWH of hosts (יהוה צבאות) 4t.
 8:3; 25:29; 30:8; 49:26.
5. The oracle of the king YHWH of hosts (המלך יהוה צבאות)
 3t. - 46:18; 48:15; 51:57.

II. The combination with other forms.

1. with 'Behold, the days are coming' (הנה-ימים באים)
7:32; 9:24; 16:14; 19:6; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31,
38; 33:14; 48:12; 49:2; 51:52.
 - a. Message of Judgement - 7:32; 9:24; 19:6; 48:12;
49:2; 51:52.
 - b. Message of Hope - 16:14; 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27,
31, 38; 33:14.
2. with 'In that day' (ביום ההוא)
4:9; 30:8; 49:26; 50:30.
3. with 'At that time' (בעת ההיא) 8:1; 31:1.
4. with 'In those days' (בימים ההמה) 3:16; 5:18.
5. with 'Behold, I am against' (הנהני אליך)
21:13; 23:30, 31, 32; 50:31; 51:25.
6. with 'As I live' (חי-אני) 22:24; 46:18.
(In Pentateuch, Num.14:21, 28; Dt.32:40).
7. with 'I swear by myself' (בי נשבעתי) 22:5; 49:13.
(elsewhere, Gen.22:16).
8. ~~with~~ 'For I have spoken' (כי-דבר אני דברתי) 34:5.

III. The place of the oracle form (נאם יהוה) in the prophetic speech.

1. ending - (concluding formula)
 - a. single formula (נאם יהוה)
2:12; 3:1; 5:11; 9:5; 23:12; 30:17; 2:29.
 - b. with a rhetorical question. ה 23:23; 24:24; 23:29 (הלא).
מה 23:28. למה 2:29.

c. with an introductory messenger formula

(כה אמר יהוה).

i. 'thus says YHWH' 2:2-3; 9:22-23; 2:5-19; 12:14-17; 23:2-4; 15:19-20; 31:7-14, 37; 32:42-44.

ii. 'thus says YHWH of hosts God of Israel' 25:27-29; 29:8-9; 21-23;

iii. 'thus says YHWH of hosts' 6:9-12.

d. variation formulae: -

The oracle of YHWH of hosts, 8:3; 25:29; 30:8; 49:26.

The oracle of Lord YHWH, 2:22.

The oracle of Lord YHWH of hosts, 2:19; 49:5; 50:31.

The oracle of the king YHWH of hosts; 46:18; 48:15; 51:57.

e. in combination with other forms: -

with 'for I have spoken the word', 34:5.

2. middle in parallelism.

a. between two parts of a parallelism, (in a line),

2:9; 3:12, 12, 14; 4:1; 5:22; 8:13; 15:6; 23:23, 29; 31:16, 17; 46:23; 50:21, 35.

b. between two parts of a parallelism (two lines),

1:15; 5:9, 15, 29; 9:8; 13:25; 21:14; 23:24; 31:36; 49:30, 31.

- c. within one member of a parallelism (prose),
 7:13, 19, 30; 13:14; 15:3; 16:5, 11; 21:10;
 27:8, 11, 15; 28:4; 29:11; 34:17; 39:17;
 45:5.

3. heading: as an introductory formula in combination with other forms.

- a. with 'Behold, the days are coming', 7:32; 9:24;
 16:14; 19:6, 23:5, 7; 30:3; 31:27, 31, 38; 33:14;
 48:12; 49:2; 51:52.
- b. with 'In that day', 4:9; 30:8; 49:26; 50:30.
- c. with 'At that time', 8:1; 31:1.
- d. with 'In those days', 3:16; 5:18.
- e. with 'Behold, I am against', 21:13; 23:30, 31, 32;
 50:31; 51:25.
- f. with 'As I live', 22:24; 46:18.
- g. with 'For I have sworn by myself', 49:13 (not 22:5).

APPENDIX B.

'thus says YHWH' in Jeremiah.I. 'Thus says YHWH' (כה אמר יהוה) and its variations. (85t.)

1. 'thus says YHWH' (כה אמר י')

2:2, 5; 6:16,22; 9:22; 10:2; 12:14; 13:9; 14:10;
 17:5, 21; 18:11; 19:1; 21:12; 22:1, 3, 30; 30:18;
 31:2, 15, 16; 33:10; 34:4; 36:29; 37:9; 38:2, 3; 44:
 30; 47:2; 49:28; 51:1.

with 'to me' (אלי) - 13:1; 17:19; 27:2.

with 'if-then' (אם גם) - 31:35-36, 37; 33:20, 25.

with 'saying' (לאמר) - 27:16; 26:2; 28:11, 13; 29:31;
 32:3; 33:2.

2. With 'for' (כי) - 4:3, 27; 10:18; 16:3, 5; 20:4; 22:6,
 11; 24:8; 29:10, 16; 30:5, 12; 31:7; 32:42; 33:17;
 48:40; 49:12.3. With 'therefore' (לכן) - 6:21; 11:11, 21; 14:15; 15:19;
 18:13; 22:18; 23:38; 28:16; 29:32; 32:28; 34:17;
 36:30; 51:36.4. With 'you shall say to them' (אמרת אליהם)
 8:4; 13:13; 15:2; 26:4; 34:2; 42:9.

With 'you shall say' (תאמר) - 21:8; 45:4.

II. 'Thus says the Lord YHWH' (אדני יהוה), (1t.)

With 'therefore' (לכן) - 7:20.

III. 'Thus says YHWH of hosts' (יהוה צבאות) and its variations. (19t.)

1. 'thus says YHWH of hosts'

6:9; 9:16; 23:16; 25:32; 29:17; 33:12; 49:7;

50:33; 51:58.

with 'saying' (לאמר) - 26:18; 49:35.

2. With 'for' (כי) - 6:6; 27:19.

3. With 'therefore' (לכן) - 9:6; 11:22; 23:15; 25:8.

4. With 'you shall say to them' (אמרת אליהם)

25:28; 19:11.

IV. 'Thus says YHWH the God of hosts' (יהוה אלהי צב') (1t.)

with 'therefore' (לכן) - 5:14.

V. 'Thus says YHWH the God of Israel' (יהוה אלהי יש') and its variations. (13t.)

1. 'thus says YHWH the God of Israel' - 21:4; 24:5.

with 'saying' (לאמר) - 30:2; 34:2, 13; 37:7; 45:2.

2. With 'for' (כי) - 33:4; 25:15.

3. With 'therefore' (לכן) - 23:2; 32:36.

4. With 'you shall say to them' (אמרת אליהם)

11:3; 13:12.

VI. 'Thus says YHWH of hosts the God of Israel' and its variations. (31t.) (יהוה צבאות אלהי ישראל)

1. 'thus says YHWH of hosts, the God of Israel'

7:3, 21; 19:3, 15; 29:21; 31:23; 35:18; 42:15;

44:25; 48:1.

2. With 'for' (כי) - 16:9; 27:21; 28:14; 29:8; 32:15; 42:18; 51:33.

3. With 'therefore' (לכן) - 9:14; 35:19; 44:11; 50:18.

4. With 'you shall say to them' (אמרת אליהם)

25:27; 43:10.

with 'saying' (לאמר) - 27:4; 28:2; 29:4, 25; 32:14;

35:13; 39:16; 44:2.

VII. 'Thus says YHWH the God of hosts, the God of Israel'. (3t.)

With 'therefore' (לכן) - 35:17; 38:17; 44:7.

APPENDIX C.Editorial Revelation Formula.

Thematic Subject. The words of Jeremiah (1:1; 51:64)
to whom the word of YHWH came (1:2)
(אשר היה דבר-יהוה אלי)

I. Autobiographical formula : 'to me'

a. 'And YHWH said to me' (ויאמר יהוה אלי)
1:7, 12, 14; 3:6, 11; 13:6; 14:11, 14; 15:1; 11:6, 9;
24:3.

b. 'Then the word of YHWH came to me' (ויהי דבר-יהוה אלי)
1:4, 11; 2:1; 13:8; 16:1; 18:5; 24:4;
(with 'שנית' - 1:13; 13:3).

c. 'The word of YHWH came to me' (היה דבר-יהוה אלי)¹⁾
25:3; 32:6 (LXX = 39:6 πρὸς Ιερემίαν).
This (25:3) is a concluding part of autobiographical
editing (1-25).

II. Biographical Formula : 'to Jeremiah'.

A. Ordinary formula.

a. 'The word of YHWH came to Jeremiah'
(ויהי דבר יהוה אל-ירמיהו) - 29:30; 32:26;
33:19, 23; 35:12; 36:27; 39:15²⁾; 42:7; 43:8;
33:1 (with 'שנית'); 28:12 (ירמיה).

b. 'The word that came to Jeremiah' (הדבר אשר היה אל-יר)
Subject concerning (על) all the people of Judah (25:1)

1) In LXX 25:3 the revelation formula does not occur.

2) Jer. 39:15 has a different word order.
'And to Jeremiah the word of YHWH came'
(ואל-ירמיהו היה דבר-יהוה)

concerning (אל) all the Jews dwelling in Egypt
(44:1).

- c. 'The word of YHWH which came to Jeremiah'

(אשר היה דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו)

Subject concerning (על) the drought (14:1).

B. 'מאת' formula.

- a. 'The word of YHWH came to Jeremiah from YHWH'

(ויהי דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו מאת יהוה) - 34:12.

- b. 'The word that came to Jeremiah from YHWH'

(הדבר אשר היה אל-ירמיהו מאת יהוה)

7:1; 11:1; 18:1; 21:1; 30:1; 32:1; 34:1, 8;

35:1; 40:1.

- c. 'This word came to Jeremiah from YHWH'

(היה הדבר הזה אל-ירמיהו מאת יהוה) - 27:1; 36:1

(26:1, without 'to Jeremiah').

III. 'Prophet-Jeremiah' formula.

- a. 'Then the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah the prophet'

(והיה דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו הנביא) - 37:6.

- b. 'The word which YHWH spoke to Jeremiah the prophet'

(הדבר אשר דבר יהוה אל ירמיהו הנביא)

Subject concerning (ל) the coming of Nebuchadrezzar 46:13

concerning (אל) Babylon, the Chaldeans - 50:1.

- c. 'The word of YHWH which came to Jeremiah the prophet'

(אשר היה דבר-יהוה אל ירמיהו הנביא)¹⁾

Subject concerning the nations - 46:1; 47:1; 49:34.

1) BHK 3 suggests the reference to Jer. 25:13b, 14c.

Comments on Appendix C.

1. The autobiographical formula is contained in ch.1-25, (the Ur-Scroll). In 25:3, it occurs in a concluding position:

"For twenty-three years, from the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, to this day, the word of YHWH has come to me."

This corresponds to the double statement in the editorial introduction (ch.1:2):

"to whom the word of YHWH came in the days of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, in the thirteenth year of his reign."

According to the description in II Kings 22:3f. Josiah's 'Deuteronomic reformation' started in the eighteenth year of his reign. But according to II Chronicles ch.34:3f., 'Josiah, in the twelfth year, began to purge Judah and Jerusalem'. In the beginning of Josiah's reformation, Jeremiah began his prophetic speech and activities.

2. The biographical formula occurs mainly in ch.26-45. (Legend of Jeremiah's life). Chapter 25 is a triple cross section of 'autobiography', 'biography' and 'oracle against the nations'. In this section (ch.25-45) we find a stereotyped passage which occurs three times:

"in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah' (25:1; 36:1; 45:1).

This is twice connected with Baruch (36:4f; 45:1):

"In this year (the fourth year of Jehoiakim: 605 B.C.), Jeremiah called Baruch the son of Neriah, and Baruch wrote upon a scroll at the dictation of Jeremiah all

the words of YHWH." (36:4).

The biographical narratives describe first of all the events surrounding the temple sermon of Jeremiah (ch.26). It is quite possible to suppose that the personal relation between Jeremiah and Baruch began at this moment (Jeremiah's temple speech), and Baruch seems to have been one of the audience in the temple court.

3. The 'Prophet Jeremiah' formula is contained mainly in the oracle against the nations (ch.46-51). The editorial introductory formula (46:1; 47:1; 49:34 - 1:2; 14:1) should be connected with the subject heading of the book of Jeremiah (1:1).

The words of Jeremiah (1:1) - דברי ירמיהו

as to whom the word of YHWH came to him (1:2)

- אשר היה דבר-יהוה אליו

as to whom the word of YHWH came to Jer.(14:1)

- אשר היה דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו

as to whom the word of YHWH came to Jeremiah the prophet

(46:1; 47:1; 49:34) -

אשר היה דבר-יהוה אל-ירמיהו הנביא

APPENDIX D.Prophetic speech formulae.

In Jeremiah ch.2 we may find a beautiful 'prophetic speech form' including many formulae: -

1. Revelation formula 'the word of YHWH came to me' (v.1);
2. Prophetic commissioning formula 'Go and proclaim -' (v.2);
3. Introductory messenger formula 'thus says YHWH' (vv.2, 5);
4. Concluding YHWH's oracle formula 'the very oracle of YHWH' (v.3);
5. Proclamation formula 'Hear the word of YHWH' (v.4);
6. Middle oracle formula 'oracle of YHWH' (vv.9, 29);
7. Judgement speech formula, 'therefore' (vv.9, 33b);
8. Covenant-Rib' (with its implications of the breaking of the covenant) (vv.9, 29).

This prophetic speech form occurs in other texts of Jeremiah:

ch.7 - The temple sermon.

1. 'The word that came to Jeremiah from the Lord' (v.1; Bio.Rev.F.)
 2. 'Stand and proclaim and say'¹⁾ (v.2a: Proph.Com.F.)
 3. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (v.2b: Procl.F.)
 4. 'Thus says YHWH of hosts, God of Israel' (v.3: Introd.Mes.F.)
 5. Prophetic speech - message -
 Apodeictic law. Covenant condition ($\square X$, vv.5, 6)
 Rhetorical question form (vv.9, 10)
 6. 'YHWH's oracle formula' (vv.11, 13 : Oracle of YHWH)
 7. 'I will cast you out of my sight' (v.15 : Judgement)
-
- 1) In the LXX there is neither revelation formula nor commissioning formula (7:1 of MT).

ch.17:19-27 - On keeping the Sabbath.

1. 'Thus said YHWH to me' (v.19 : Autobio.Rev.F.)
2. 'Go and stand, - and say' (Eoph. Com. F. : vv.19, 20)
3. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (v.20 : Proclamation F.)
4. 'Thus says YHWH' (v.21 : Introductory M. F.)
5. Prophetic speech - message -
Apodeictic law. Covenant condition (vv.24-27 : if-, if not)
6. 'Oracle of YHWH' (v.24 : YHWH's oracle F.)
7. Blessing and cursing.

This is a form developed by the redactor from actual words of Jeremiah on the subject.¹⁾

ch.22:1-5 - Concerning the house of the King of Judah.

1. 'Thus said YHWH' (Revelation F.) cf. 19:1; 17:19
2. 'Go down - and speak, - and say' (Commissioning F.)
3. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (Proclamation F.)
4. 'Thus says YHWH' (Introductory M. F.)
5. Prophetic speech - message -
Apodeictic law. Covenant condition (if, if not)
6. 'Oracle of YHWH' (YHWH's oracle F.)
7. Blessing and cursing.

This is an introductory prose discourse added by a redactor to the prophetic speech in poetry concerning the house of the king of Judah (22:6-22:30). This redactor's prophetic speech form has the same framework as ch.17:19-27 (on keeping the sabbath).

1) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB., p. 120.

ch. 34:1-7 - Concerning King Zedekiah.

1. 'The word which came to Jeremiah from YHWH' (Bio. Rev. F.)
2. 'Thus says YHWH the God of Israel' (Introductory F.)
3. 'Go and speak - and say' (Commissioning F.)
4. 'Thus says YHWH' (Introductory F.)
5. Prophetic speech - message -
Behold (future event)
6. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (Proclamation F.)
7. 'Thus says YHWH' (Introductory F.)
8. 'Oracle of YHWH' (Concluding YHWH's oracle F.)

ch. 19:1-13 - Concerning Tophet.

1. 'Thus said YHWH' (LXX : to me) (Revelation F.)
2. 'Go, buy and take, go out, and proclaim and say' (Commissioning F.)
3. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (Proclamation F.)
4. 'Thus says YHWH of hosts, God of Israel' (Introductory F.)
5. Prophetic speech - message -
Behold (future event) covenant accusation.
6. 'Therefore, behold - ' (future judgement F.)
7. 'Oracle of YHWH' (YHWH's oracle F.)

This is a combined prose discourse by a redactor including 'symbolic action narrative' (which is the same as ch.13:1-11) and prophetic speech concerning Tophet.

This prophetic speech form is written with the passage to define to whom and where this speech is proclaimed: -

In ch.2 'Proclaim in the hearing of Jerusalem' (v.2)
 'O house of Jacob and all the families of the house
 of Israel'. (v.4)

- In ch.7 'Stand in the gate of YHWH's house and proclaim' (v.2)
'all you men of Judah who enter these gates to
worship YHWH'.
- In ch.17 'Stand in the Benjamin Gate, by which the kings of Judah
enter and by which they go out and in all the gates of
Jerusalem,' (v.19)
'you kings of Judah, and all Judah, and all the inhabitants
of Jerusalem, who enter by these gates.' (v.20)
- In ch.19 'go out to the valley of Ben-Hinnom at the entry of the
Potsherd Gate, and proclaim.' (v.2)
'O kings of Judah and inhabitants of Jerusalem.' (v.3)
- In ch.22 'Go down to the house of the king of Judah,' (v.1)
'O king of Judah, who sit on the throne of David, you,
and your servants, and your people who enter these
gates.' (v.2)
- In ch.34 'Go and speak to Zedekiah king of Judah and say', (v.2)
'O Zedekiah king of Judah!' (v.4)

A very interesting case is that of the temple sermon. In ch.7
the message of the temple sermon is recorded and on the other side
in ch.26 circumstances of the sermon and prophetic passion experi-
ence is described. According to ch.26:1, the incident described
in this chapter took place 'in the accession year of Jehoiakim'.¹⁾
Jeremiah stood in the court of the Jerusalem temple and proclaimed
a public sermon to the people who came to worship. Ch.19 also
reflects the cultic circumstances of Baal-worship.

1) J.Bright, op. cit., AncB., p. 171. He explains that 'res
sarruti' (babylonischen) is a technical term for the period
between a king's accession and the following New Year from
which his first regnal year was counted: in this case, between
ca. September 609 and April 608.

W.Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, p. 144. He pointed out that the "Sitz
im Leben" of the sermon in this chapter (ch.26) could be a
'Feier eines der Jahresfeste' and that this sermon should be
classed as a 'Busspredigt'. (p.144).

J.Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, p. 169. 'He found his
opportunity at a great convocation in the Temple court in the
beginning of the reign of Jehoiakim.'

III. The Covenant Rib Form in Jeremiah Ch.2.

In his book Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech¹⁾ Claus Westermann posed a question:

"The form-historical investigation of written prophecy should start with the definition and treatment of these variations"²⁾ of the basic form of prophetic speech.

But he did not give a satisfactory answer, simply saying: "this cannot be carried through to completion here".³⁾ He briefly suggested some examples of variant formulations of the prophetic speech, such as the legal procedure (Is. 1:18-20; 3:13-15; Mic. 6:1-5; Hos. 2:4-17; 4:1-3, 4-6; 5:3-15; Jer. 2:5ff., 25:31; Mal. 3:5)⁴⁾.

In his book on Form-Critical study,⁵⁾ Klaus Koch left the problem unconsidered and said at the end of his book: -

"These examples from the prophetic writings have revealed a number of independent prophetic literary types -. Of course this does not mean that all prophetic literary types have been covered, for important examples such as the lawsuit, - have remained unconsidered for reasons of space."⁶⁾

He concluded his book with the following suggestion: -

"Without a form-critical basis exegesis of the prophetic language inevitably loses itself in pure speculation."⁶⁾

-
- 1) C. Westermann, Grundformen prophetischer Rede, BEvTh 31, 1960, ET. Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, London, 1967.
 - 2) *ibid.*, p. 176.
 - 3) *ibid.*, p. 176.
 - 4) *ibid.*, p. 199.
 - 5) K. Koch, Was ist Formgeschichte? Neue Wege der Bibelexegese, 1964, ET. The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, 1969.
 - 6) *ibid.*, p. 220.

From this point of view, I will take the Form Analysis of Jeremiah Chapter 2, and in particular, the Covenant Rib-Form (the covenant lawsuit).

In Jeremiah Ch.2, the term 'Rib' (רִיב)¹⁾ occurs 3 times.

1. YHWH is subject in the Rib between YHWH and His people.

2:9,9 - "Therefore I must still bring a charge against you (אָרִיב) (the oracle of YHWH) against your children's children I will bring a charge" (אָרִיב).

2. YHWH's rhetorical question to His people.

2:29 - "Why do you complain against Me? (תִּרְיֹב)²⁾

- 1) In the book of Jeremiah, both the verb and the noun Rib occur:
the verb : 2:9, 9; 29; 12:1; 50:34, 34; 51:36.
the noun : 15:10; 25:31; 11:20; 20:12; 50:34; 51:36;
(18:19).

The examples may be classified under 5 headings: -

1. YHWH is subject in the Rib between God and the people.
2:9, 9 (אָרִיב אֵת : Dt. 33:8; Is. 49:25; 57:16).

2. YHWH's rhetorical question to His people.
2:29 (לָמָּה רִיב אֵלַי : cf. Ex. 17:2) - LXX: λαλεῖτε.

3. YHWH is Judge in the Rib between man and man (nation and nation).

- a. 25:31 (לִיְהוָה רִיב : cf. Hos. 4:1; 12:3; Mic. 6:2).
- b. 50:34; 51:36.
- c. 11:20 = 20:12. (for to Thee have I committed my cause (Rib)).

4. Man is subject in the Rib between God and man.
12:1 (Jeremiah) (cf. W.Holladay, "Jeremiah's Lawsuit with God", Interp. 17, 1963, pp. 280-7).

5. Man of Rib.
15:10, a man of strife (אִישׁ רִיב) Jud. 12:2, cf. Jud. 6:31-32. (cf. J.Bright explained: literally 'a man of legal strife (Rib)', p. 109).

- 2) On the meaning of Rib here, Limburg explained: -
"In a case such as Jer. 2:29 where the object of the verb-/...

It is a characteristic of Rib in Jeremiah Ch.2 to emphasize that YHWH alone has a Rib (רִיב) and appears as the One to ask or to complain against His people, not to be questioned or complained against by them.

A. The primary meaning of Rib.

A survey of the lexicons will help to elucidate the primary meaning of Rib (רִיב).

The BDB lexicon gives a rather broad primary meaning for the verb, defining it as 'strive, contend' and for the noun as 'strife, dispute'. It recognizes that Rib means to 'conduct a (legal case) suit' in the narrow sense.¹⁾

Köhler-Baumgartner's definitions are more narrow, connecting both verb and noun with the legal process. The primary sense given for the verb is "(mit Worten, Anklagen, Behauptungen, Vorwürfen) einen Rechtsstreit führen; rechten", and for the noun "Rechtsstreit".²⁾

.../preposition combination is God, the sense is 'bring a complaint before, about', because God is at the same time judge and accused. - The people think that they have a complaint against Yahweh, but in reality Yahweh is the one who has the complaint."
J.Limburg, "The Root Rib and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches", JBL 88, 1969, p. 302.

1) BDB, p. 936. It states that in the narrow sense Rib means to 'conduct a (legal) case, suit: with רַק against whom: Is. 50:8; Jer. 2:9, 9, and with לַק it means to 'make complaint': Jud. 21:22; Jer. 2:29, 12:1; Job. 33:13.

2) KBL, pp. 888-889.

D.A.McKenzie¹⁾ examined the etymological meaning of Rib in his dissertation of the University of Edinburgh: The Ribh Theme in the Old Testament, and defined the primary meaning of Rib as 'quarrel or dispute', adding that Rib is used secondly in a juridicial sense.²⁾

The turning point for the understanding of Rib is marked by J.Begrich's work published in 1938.³⁾

a. Before 1938, S.R.Driver pointed out that 'plead' (AV for Rib) has become a misleading rendering (on Jer. 2:9).⁴⁾ He translated it as 'contend' (Jer. 2:9), and explained: "the meaning being really 'expostulate' (Hos. 2:2)."

"It is a pity, in the case of such a word as this (Rib), that we have no one equivalent, clearly understood, which will suit all passages. For the cognate subst., see, in a literal forensic sense, Dt. 25:1 (controversy), 2Sam. 15:2, 4 (suit) -."4)

-
- 1) D.A.McKenzie, The Ribh Theme in the Old Testament, Dissertation of the University of Edinburgh, 1959.
 - 2) *ibid.*, p. 1. On the etymological meaning of Ribh McKenzie says: -
 "It is relatively easy to demonstrate the connection between Hebrew רִיב, Syriac ܪܝܒ; Arabic rība, and Accadian rābu. They are all derived from a primitive Semitic root signifying an agitation. Accadian rābu (stem : rwb) refers to an agitation of the earth or of the atmosphere (i.e. an earthquake or a storm). Arabic rība is applied to mental agitation (i.e. doubt or suspicion). Syriac ܪܝܒ; refers to an agitation amongst men, a row, but especially to the loud noise caused by a disorderly crowd".
 p. 2.
 - 3) J.Begrich, Studien zu Deuteriojesaja, BWANT 4, 1938.
 - 4) S.R.Driver, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, 1906, pp. 336-337.

J. Skinner also took the same line as S.R.Driver, offering the explanation: -

"It is in the form of a rhetorical expostulation - a Rib." (Jer. 2:9).¹⁾

b. Since 1938, the primary meaning of Rib has been discussed.

J.Begrich insists that Rib "ist die technische Bezeichnung der Verhandlung des Streites vor Gericht."²⁾

E.Würthwein challenged Begrich's conclusion and saw the primary meaning of the word (Rib) as the presentation of an accusation (Anklage) either within or outside the official process.³⁾

H.W.Wolff gave his attention to the term as used in combination with a preposition.⁴⁾

H.J.Boecker also understands Rib as in most cases a term for the conducting of the legal process as a whole. He sees this as the usual sense of the root when used with $\square\gamma$, $\mathfrak{N}\aleph$, or absolutely, but believes it to have the narrower sense 'accusation' (Anklage) when used with \beth , and the sense 'bring an accusation before' (Anklage erheben bei) when used with $\beth\aleph$.⁵⁾

1) J.Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, 1922, 1963, p. 66.

2) J.Begrich, op. cit., BWANT 4, 1938, p. 37.

3) E.Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede", ZTK 49, 1952, p. 4.

4) H.W.Wolff, Hosea, BK, p. 39. " $\beth\aleph$ bezeichnet den Wechsel der Reden vor Gericht (c. $\square\gamma$ 4:1, 12:3) und somit die Prozessführung im ganzen. Eingeschränkt und mit \beth verbunden meint es Reden, die zur Verantwortung ziehen, mit Vorwürfen angreifen (Gen. 31:36, Ri. 6:32), Anklagen erheben."

5) H.J.Boecker, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament, WMANT 14, p. 54, n. 2.

Recent studies have shed new light upon Rib in relation to covenant or treaty within or outside of the Bible.

H.B.Huffman¹⁾ is the first to apply the term 'covenant lawsuit' to the Rib type (Gattung), basing his choice of terminology on H.Gunkel's study of 'Gerichtsrede' (lawsuit) and following Mendenhall's comparative study of Rib-Gattung and Hittite treaties.

G.E.Wright,²⁾ examining the lawsuit of God in Deuteronomy 32, reached his conclusion that the 'form of the covenant lawsuit was a reformulation of the form of the Mosaic covenant renewal'.

E.von Waldow³⁾ considered that the form of the prophetic "Gerichtsrede" is modelled upon the procedures developed in ordinary civil courts, but that the content is derived from the tradition of the covenant of Yahweh with Israel.

W.Beyerlin⁴⁾ used quite rightly the term "Bundesbruch-rib".

1) H.B.Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-295.

2) G.E.Wright, "The Lawsuit of God", IPH, 1962, pp. 26-67.

3) E.von Waldow, Der Traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der Prophetischen Gerichtsreden, BZAW 85, 1963. "Formal betrachtet wurzeln die prophetischen Gerichtsreden im profanen Rechtsleben der hebräischen Rechtsgemeinde. Aber inhaltlich gesehen weisen sie zurück auf die Tradition vom Bunde Jahves mit Israel." (p.20)

cf. R.E.Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, 1965, p. 79.

See further, p. 197.

4) W.Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch", in TUS, 1963, pp. 1-29.

In his new study, J. Jeremias¹⁾ adopted the term 'Bundes-Anklage' (covenant-accusation) following Würthwein.

The meaning of the word "Rib" should be understood according to its usage in each separate context. Such different terms applied to "Rib" are based on the different understandings of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the Rib.

B. The covenant Rib form in Jeremiah 2.

H.B. Huffmon²⁾ and J. Harvey³⁾ have analysed the structure of the Rib form in Jer. 2.

a) H.B. Huffmon is the first to apply the term 'covenant lawsuit' to the structural form in Jeremiah ch. 2:4-13. He followed Mendenhall's comparative study of the Rib-form and the Hittite treaties of the second millenium B.C., with particular reference to the invoking of 'heaven and earth' as witnesses. On this basis, Huffmon has designated this and related pericopes 'lawsuits' which are dependent on the existence of the YHWH-Israel covenant; hence, they are 'covenant lawsuits'. This identification has been generally accepted and has recently been supported by J. Harvey³⁾ and W.L. Moran⁴⁾ etc.

1) J. Jeremias, Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels, WMANT 35, 1970, p. 154.

2) H.B. Huffmon, op. cit., JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-295.

3) J. Harvey, "Le Rib-Pattern", Bibl. 43, 1962, pp. 172-196.

4) W.L. Moran, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses", Bibl. 43, 1962, pp. 317-327.

H.B.Huffman pointed out that Jer. 2:4-13 is a particular type of this covenant lawsuit and analysed it as follows: -¹⁾

- v.4 the summons to the accused, Israel.
- v.5 an accusation in the second person and in question form.
- v.6-8 recitation of the mighty acts.
- v.9 grounds for a case not only against contemporary Israel, but also her future generations (descendants).
- v.10-11 the inexcusability of the accused, even on the basis of international morality.
- v.12 appeals to the natural world.
- v.13 reiteration of the accusation.

He has argued persuasively from the appeal to the heavens and earth, which elements he has demonstrated to be regularly among the list of witnesses to the treaties. But he has not brought forward any counterpart to the lawsuit itself.²⁾

J.Harvey³⁾ analyses the structural form of the Rib-pattern, making a distinction between the Rib of condemnation (Dt. 32, Jer.2, Ps.50) and the Rib of warning (Is.1, Mic.6). He sets these two types out following Gunkel's basic outline.⁴⁾

1) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 288.

2) cf. P.H.Williams, The Fatal and Foolish Exchange, A Study of Jer. 2:4-13. Austin Seminary Bulletin, 1965.

3) J.Harvey, op. cit., pp. 172-196.

4) H.Gunkel-J.Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, 1933, p. 329. (A.Bentzen, Introduction to the O.T., Vol.I, 1952, pp. 199-200).

The Rib of condemnation has the following contents:¹⁾

- I. Introduction (call to attention, appeal to heaven and earth)
Jer. 2:12.
- II. Interrogation (first implicit accusation), Jer. 2:5-6.
- III. Indictment (declaration that the covenant is broken; gracious acts of YHWH, and Israel's ingratitude), Jer. 2:7-13; 14-19; 26-28; 29-30.
- IV. Reference to the vanity of cultic compensations for sin (or foreign cults), Jer. 2:26-28.
- V. Declaration of guilt and threats of total destruction, Jer. 2:31-37.

We are confronted with the problem of the extent of the unit of the Rib form structure: H.B.Huffman makes the unit of the covenant lawsuit include "Jer. 2:4-13". On the contrary J.Harvey considers that the Rib pattern includes the whole of Jer.2:2-37. Similarly W.Beyerlin.²⁾

C.Westermann noted that the Rib (legal procedure) form has a striking characteristic as "comprehensive".

"A striking characteristic of this form of the legal procedure lies in the fact that the accusation, in every case, is comprehensive. Each time it is concerned with the whole state of the nation before God."³⁾

1) J.Harvey, op. cit., p. 178.

2) W.Beyerlin, op. cit., pp. 19, 21.

3) C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 200.

Even though we may find some originally disparate short units in this chapter, these are collected under the main theme (Rib) of Jeremiah's early ministry in order to construct the classic example of Jeremiah's preaching-attack upon the sins of the people. J.Bright explained Jeremiah Ch.2 as follows: -

"The chapter thus contains a collection of Jeremiah's sayings that deal with a single theme, the bulk of which come from early in his ministry, but which were given their present form in Jehoiakim's reign. This last may well have been done by Jeremiah himself, no doubt in connection with the scroll of 605."¹⁾

We must proceed to analyse the covenant Rib form in Jeremiah ch.2, following Gunkel's basic outline.²⁾

- 1) J.Bright, Jeremiah, AncB., p. 18.
I agree with J.Bright that Jer.2 is not a single unit, but rather a collection of prophetic poems which have the Rib-theme in common.
- 2) The Gunkel-Begriff analysis of this "Gerichtsrede" has been put into outline form by H.B.Huffman as follows: -
 - I. A description of the scene of judgment
 - II. The speech of the plaintiff
 - A. Heaven and earth are appointed judges
 - B. Summons to the defendant (or judges)
 - C. Address in the second person to the defendant
 1. Accusation in question form to the defendant
 2. Refutation of the defendant's possible arguments
 3. Specific indictment

One of the alternate forms is:

- I. A description of the scene of judgment
- II. The speech by the judge
 - A. Address to the defendant
 1. Reproach (based on the accusation)
 2. Statement that the accused has no defence
 - B. Pronouncement of guilt
 - C. Sentence (in second or third person).

1. Appeal to the heavens:

v.12, Be appalled, O heavens at this.

2. Historical prologue: the mighty acts of YHWH (Covenant History).

a. Exodus: ('העלה ' formula).

v.6, 'YHWH who brought (המלה) us from the land of Egypt.'

b. In the wilderness: (במדבר)

v.6, YHWH who led us in the wilderness.

c. Entry into the fruitful land (הריא and נטע formulae)

v.7, 'I brought you into a fruitful land'.

v.7b, 'This fruitful land is 'My land' and 'My heritage'.

v.21, 'I planted you (נטעתך) as a Sorek vine.'

3. Interrogation - Rhetorical question -¹⁾

a. Where (איפה), vv.6, 8, 28.

v.6, Where is YHWH ... ?

b. ה (?)

v.11, Has ever a nation changed its gods?

v.17, Is not this - ?

v.32, Will a maid forget her ornament?

c. What (מה), vv.5, 18, 33, 36.

v.5, What iniquity did your fathers find in me?

d. Why (למה), v.29, Why do you dispute (Rib) with me?

4. Accusation against the covenant-breaker.²⁾

a. Rebuking of 'Baal worship' - cultic sphere -

1) See further, p. 93f.

2) See further, pp. 198-200.

Baal worship constitutes a breach of the covenant relationship.

i) YHWH versus Baal:

v.5, They followed 'nothing' and became 'nothing'

(לֵבֶל)

v.8, The prophets prophesied by Baal
and followed 'no-profit'.

v.11, My people have changed their Glory for
'no-profit'.

ii) Baal-cult:

v.7, you made my heritage an abomination

v.25, I loved 'strangers' and after them will I go

v.27, They say to a stock, 'you are my father'
and to a stone, 'you have begotten me'.

b. In the legal sphere.

i) Against the commandments.

Baal worship itself is a violation of the commandments.

ii) Against the 'mishpatim' (מִשְׁפָּטִים) of the book of the covenant.

v.34, 'Even on the corners of your robe there is
the life-blood of the (poor) innocent.
(Ex.23:6)

You did not get it by housebreaking, (Ex.22:1)

c. In the international sphere.

vv.18, 36, on the problem of Israel's relations with
Egypt and Assyria.

Jeremiah pointed out that the fundamental sin, from which
every kind of guilt is derived is "forsaking YHWH" (vv.13, 17,

19: 17).

'My people have forsaken Me' (v.13).¹⁾

In the autobiographical section²⁾ it is put in the following way as:

'I will utter my judgments against them,
for all their wickedness in forsaking Me'.
(Jer.1:16).

5. The sentence - covenant curse -³⁾

a. YHWH's wrath

v.35, You say 'surely His anger is turned from me'.

b. The lion as an image of destruction.

v.15, upon him the lions roar
they uttered their voice.

c. YHWH's judgment.

v.35, Behold, I will bring you to judgment.

1) The term 'to forsake me' (יָנַח לִי) occurs 7 times in the book of Jeremiah (2:13; 16:11, 11; 1:16; 5:7, 19; 19:4). - Lisowsky.

It seems to me that the poetic prototype is 2:13 and others are the copy-type. (cf. Holladay, "Prototype and Copies", JBL 79, 1960, pp. 351-67).

2) On Jer. 1:16, S.Mowinkel: Gruppe A.

T.H.Robinson: A. oracular poetry (1:14 - 3:5).

J.P.Hyatt: The Dtmic Edition (1:15-16; 18-19).

J.Bright, recently classifies this autobiographical section as A¹. But this section begins with 'the word of YHWH came to me', so I prefer to include it in the 'autobiographical section'.

See further, p. 65.

3) J.Harvey applies this term: 'covenant curse' in Covenant, p. 133f.

4. The Appeal to the Heavens in the Covenant Rib Form.

The covenant Rib form in Jeremiah Ch.2 still offers some problems which we must examine.

a. The Appeal to the Heavens.

It is a question what the role of the heavens in the Rib form is. There are three different understandings on this question:

i. The heavens as judges, ii. the heavens as witnesses in the covenant Rib, and iii. the heavens as members of the divine assembly.

i. The heavens as judges.

H.Gunkel stated that it was characteristic of prophetic 'Gerichtsrede' that Jahweh summons heavens and earth as judges (Ps. 50:6f; Is. 1:2f; Jer. 2:12; Mic. 6:1f.).¹⁾

J.Begrich and A.Bentzen²⁾ followed H.Gunkel's view.

G.E.Wright criticised this interpretation of H.Gunkel's, i.e. of the heavens and earth as judges: -

"At the root of the problem is Gunkel's mistaken assertion that 'heaven and earth' are summoned in the Biblical form to act as judges. It is impossible, in my judgment, to make coherent sense of the passages on such an interpretation."³⁾

1) H.Gunkel-J.Begrich, op. cit., 1933, p. 364.

2) J.Begrich, Studien zu Deuterojesaja, BWANT 25, 1938, p. 31.

A.Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, 1948, p. 199.
- "In speeches of this kind (lawsuit), Yahweh does not occupy the seat of the Judge, but stands as one of the contesting parties, while as judges are named heaven and earth, the mountains, the foundations of the earth etc."

3) G.E.Wright, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

On the other hand, E.Würthwein and C.Westermann take another interpretation, viz. that YHWH is Judge. E.Würthwein took up the Rib form (Anklagerede) and found its origin in a cultic event, - an act of the cultic drama - in which Yahweh appears as Judge (Pss. 76:8-10; 50:1-7).¹⁾

C.Westermann also accepted his opinion and said:

"One can agree with Würthwein that the prophetic judgment speeches are certainly related to the speech of God as a judge."²⁾

In prophetic judgement speeches, Judge is not 'heavens and earth' but YHWH Himself. (Jer. 2:35; Ps. 50:6; Dt. 32:36, etc.)³⁾

ii. The heavens as witnesses in the covenant lawsuit.

L.Köhler⁴⁾ stressed the role of the 'Zweizeugenruf' in the lawsuit, in civil judicial practice, and cited proofs of 'Zweizeugenruf' in the Bible.⁵⁾

The discussion reached a turning point with the study by G.E.Mendenhall Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East⁶⁾. He noted the list of gods as witnesses to the international

1) E.Würthwein, op. cit., ZTK 49, 1952, p. 15.

2) C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, 1967, p. 80.

3) See further, pp. 268, 314f.

4) L.Köhler, Deuterojesaja : stilkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37, 1923, pp. 110f.

5) *ibid.*, pp. 111-113. (Nu. 35:30; Dt. 17:6f.; Mat. 18:16; - Is. 5:3; 1:10; 32:9; Ps. 50:7; Joel 1:2; Mic. 3:1, 9; 1:2; 6:2; Jud. 5:3; Dt. 32:1; Is. 18:3; 34:1; Ps. 49:2; - Dtjes. 41:1; 43:9).

6) G.E.Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 1955.

covenants in the Hittite treaty texts and its close parallel with the appeal to the heavens and earth in the Old Testament.¹⁾

H.B.Huffman, W.L.Moran, and J.Harvey followed Mendenhall and expanded his comparative study. H.B.Huffman concluded that the natural elements are witnesses to the covenant: -

"The natural elements appealed to in the 'lawsuit' oracles discussed above are addressed because they are witnesses to the (prior) covenant."²⁾

J.Harvey identifies without hesitation a parallel to the Biblical appeal to heaven and earth, not only in the Hittite treaties, but also in the Tukulti-Ninurta Epic.³⁾

W.L.Moran, following Mendenhall and Huffman, provided additional supporting evidence from Ugaritic Texts and from the Aramaic treaty from Sefire, to certify that heaven and earth along with other natural elements are summoned as witnesses to the treaty.⁴⁾

Even D.J.McCarthy recognized that heaven and earth are cited as witnesses: -

"It is very difficult to avoid a conclusion that this appeal (to heaven and earth) is an appeal to witnesses who had been invoked at the making of a covenant."⁵⁾

1) *ibid.*, esp. pp. 32-34, 40.

2) H.B.Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", *JBL* 78, 1959, p. 292.

3) J.Harvey, *op. cit.*, *Bibl.* 43, 1962, pp. 182-4.

4) W.L.Moran, *op. cit.*, *Bibl.* 43, 1962, pp. 312f.

5) D.J.McCarthy, "Covenant in the O.T.", *CBQ* 27, 1965, p. 232.

It is quite true that in the prophetic "Gerichtsrede" of the Rib form the heavens and earth are appealed to as witnesses of YHWH's Rib and His judgment (Dt. 32:1; Jer. 2:12; Ps. 50:4, 6). The heavens and earth in this form are not as witnesses to the covenant between YHWH and His people, but as witnesses to YHWH's Rib and His judgment against His sinful people.¹⁾ "This kind of appeal is found, other than in connection with a lawsuit only in three prose passages (Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28)"²⁾ in Deuteronomy whenever these are not in connection with the covenant itself, but more precisely, in connection with YHWH's wrath and anger (Dt. 4:25; 31:29) against the covenant-breaker: the sinful and rebellious people of Israel: -

"I call heaven and earth to witness against you this day, that ye shall soon utterly perish from off the land - shall utterly be destroyed." (Dt. 4:26).³⁾

"I denounce unto you this day, that ye shall surely perish, - . I call heaven and earth to record this day against you." (Dt. 30:18-19).

"Ye have been rebellious against the Lord; - Gather unto me all the elders of your tribes; - that I may speak these words - and call heaven and earth to record against them. Ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger through the work of your hands." (Dt. 31:27b-29).

-
- 1) cf. J. Jeremias, op. cit., WMANT 35, 1970, pp. 154-6. "Zeugen sind Himmel und Erde also auch in den prophetischen Gerichtsreden, aber Zeugen des Rechtsstreites Jahwes mit Israel, nicht Zeugen eines früheren Vertrages oder Bundes. Nur so ist auch verständlich, dass sie besonders in Is. 1:2, Jer. 2:12, Dt. 32:1 durchaus informationsbedürftig erscheinen und nicht als Kenner eines früheren Bundesschlusses, auf den nirgends angespielt wird." (pp. 155-6).
 - 2) H.B. Huffmon, op. cit., p. 292. Huffmon emphasized the connection with covenant, defining "heaven and earth" as "covenant-witnesses".
 - 3) I have used here the A.V. to make clear the distinction/...

iii. As members of the divine assembly.

It is G.E.Wright and F.M.Cross who suggest that the heavens and earth in the lawsuit (or indictment) function as members of the divine assembly. This understanding of the problem has been discussed by H.B.Huffman and G.E.Wright.

G.E.Wright¹⁾ suggested that the heavens and the earth in Is. 1:2, and the mountains and foundations of the earth in Mic.6:2, can best be interpreted "in the light of the Divine Assembly", the members of which constitute the host of heaven and of earth.

This suggested connection with the divine assembly has been taken up and expanded by F.M.Cross,²⁾ who has supplied additional

.../between 'thou' and 'ye'.

cf. E.W.Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, 1967, p. 23f.

Note: - E.W.Nicholson rightly said: "It is interesting to note that now and again the prophets in inveighing against Israel's violation of the covenant call upon the heavens and the earth as Yahweh's witnesses. (Is. 1:2; Mic. 6:2; Dt. 32:1; Jer. 2:12). Similarly in Dt. 4:26; 30:19; 31:28, Moses calls heaven and earth to serve as witnesses to any future breach of covenant by Israel." (p. 44).

- 1) G.E.Wright, The O.T. against its Environment, SBT 2, 1950, p.36. "The Lawsuit of God", in IPH p. 44f.

On the discussion with Huffman, "The Lawsuit of God", p. 45f. This is concerning the precise role of "heaven and earth".

- 2) F.M.Cross, "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah", JNES 12, 1953, pp. 274-277.

Concerning "The Council of YHWH": -

James F.Ross, "The Prophet as Jahweh's Messenger", in IPH, pp. 98-107.

E.G.Kingsburg, "The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh", JBL 83 (1964), pp. 279-286.

evidence for the theory that heaven and earth in the lawsuit-appeal function as members of the council of Yahweh. Moreover he said: -

"The lawsuit oracle type undoubtedly has its origins in the conceptions of the role of Yahweh's heavenly assembly as a court."¹⁾

Huffman criticised this view of Wright's and Cross's: -

"One basic problem with interpreting heaven and earth, the mountains and the hills, and the foundations of the earth as members of the divine assembly is that there is no direct evidence for it."²⁾

Even though this is so, Huffman accepted the view in one sense, to support his own theory of 'the divine council lawsuits' (Is. 1:18-20; Mic. 1:2-7; Ps. 82) in contrast to the covenant lawsuit.³⁾

Both of them stand on the same line in this at least, that the appeal to heavens and earth in the covenant Rib (lawsuit) is the appeal to ~~the~~ YHWH's witnesses of the broken covenant⁴⁾ (covenant Rib).

b. Uniqueness of meaning in Jeremiah Ch.2.

Now we must seek to discover the characteristics of the appeal to the heavens in Jeremiah ch. 2:12.

1) F.M.Cross, op. cit., p. 274.

2) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 291.

3) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 294.

4) cf. G.E.Wright, op. cit., IPH, p. 44.

"The heavenly Assembly is in this case" (when the covenant/treaty has been broken) "only witness and council (cf. 1 Ki. 22:20-22), nothing more." (p. 47)

In Jeremiah ch.2 the appeal to the heavens is stated thus:

"Be appalled, O heavens, at this,¹⁾
shudder, be utterly dismayed
the oracle of YHWH."

'Heavens' here is not in any sense a judge at all. But YHWH himself is Judge in this prophetic Rib form speech (Jer. 2:35).

What are the characteristics of this expression in Jeremiah ch.2?

i. The manner of expression is unique to Jeremiah.

The expression 'be appalled, O heavens' (שִׁמְרָם שָׁמַיִם) is unparalleled in the Old Testament. In other cases the expression: 'Hear, O heavens' (שִׁמְעוּ שָׁמַיִם) is more usual.

Dt.32:1 "Give ear, O heavens,
and let the earth hear."

Is.1:2 "Hear, O heavens,
and give ear, O earth."

Mic.6:2 "Hear, O mountains."

In Jeremiah ch.2:12, this normal mode of expression is changed into that unique one, - in which we find word play and assonance in the Hebrew (שָׁמַיִם - שָׁמָּה).²⁾

1) W.Rudolph, in BHK 3, suggests reading ' אָרֶץ ' instead of ' אֲדָמָה '. The sole evidence for this is the reading of certain Lucianic texts on the LXX tradition (J.Ziegler, Septuaginta, Ieremias, Göttingen, 1957). He cited the reading with 'earth' (אָרֶץ) from the/a Lucian group: (L' 130, 613, 239, 544, Clem, Didgm, Chr, Tht, PsChr.).

2) See further, p. 77.

P.H.Williams, op. cit., p. 39.

He preserves the assonance in English, by translating: 'Heave, O heavens at this.'

Another question arises regarding this expression in Jeremiah ch.2:12. Why did Jeremiah deliberately change this expression, not using the traditional form of appeal to heavens and earth? Why is 'earth' missing?

ii. The uniqueness of meaning in the Jeremianic phrase.

The appeal to the heavens in Jeremiah ch.2 conveys unique nuances of meaning. One is the suffering of the heavens because of YHWH's wrath against His covenant-breaking people. The other is the manifestation of YHWH's anger against Israel's defiled land.

(a) The suffering of the heavens because of YHWH's wrath against His covenant-breaking people.

"Be appalled, O heavens!" (שָׁמַר שָׁמַיִם).¹⁾

These terms (שָׁמַר , שָׁמָה , שָׁמָה) are very often used in the book of Jeremiah.

"I will make this city a horror (שָׁמָה) every one who passes by it will be horrified." (יִשָּׁא), (Jer. 18:16; 19:8; 49:17; 50:13).

"They have made it desolate (שָׁמָה) desolate (שָׁמָה) it mourns to me. The whole land is made desolate (וְשָׁמָה)." (Jer. 12:11).

1) Lisowsky: the verb שָׁמַר occurs 11 times in Jeremiah (2:12, 4:9; 10:25; 12:11; 19:8; 33:10; 49:17; 20; 50:13, 45; 18:16).
the noun שָׁמָה occurs 15 times in Jeremiah (4:27; 6:8; 9:10; 10:22; 12:10, 11; 25:12; 32:43; 34:22; 44:6; 49:2, 33; 50:13; 51:26, 62).
the noun שָׁמָה occurs 24 times in Jeremiah (2:15; 4:7; 18:16; 19:8; 25:9, 11, 18, 38; 29:18; 42:18; 44:12, 22; 46:19; ...

This is a Jeremianic assonance and word-play on the Hebrew (שָׁמָּה , שָׁמָּה). The desolation (שָׁמָּה) is connected with YHWH's wrath (אֵל : 2:35; 4:8, 26; 12:13; 50:13; 44:6).¹⁾

His covenant-breaking people have provoked YHWH to anger with their idols (Dt. 32:21), with their abominations (Dt. 32:16; Jer. 2:7), and with their 'No-Profit' (Jer. 2:11). Therefore the land would be reduced to desolation, and 'heavens' and earth would suffer (Jer. 4:23-28).²⁾

'Be appalled, O heavens!' (Jer. 2:12) : this alternative form of the appeal to heavens is rooted in Jeremiah's unique personification of nature.³⁾

- (b) Destruction of the earth by YHWH's anger against Israel's defiling the land.

Jeremiah did not use the appeal to the earth in v.12. The term 'earth' (אֶרֶץ) very often occurs in Jeremiah ch.2.⁴⁾

.../48:9, 13, 17; 50:3, 23; 51:29, 37, 41, 43; 5:30; 8:21).

- 1) Lisowsky: the noun אֶרֶץ occurs 24 times in Jeremiah (2:35; 4:8, 26; 7:20; 10:24; 12:13; 15:14, 15; 17:4; 18:23; 21:5; 23:20; 25:37, 38; 30:24; 32:31, 37; 33:5; 36:7; 42:18; 44:6; 49:37; 51:45; 52:3). p. 131-2.
 - 2) Jer. 12:4 - How long will the land mourn, -?
For the wickedness of those who dwell in it
the beasts and the birds are swept away -.
- (cf. Jer. 51:9).
- 3) J. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, p. 67.
"We may find in Jeremiah's poetry traces of a closer sympathy with the life of nature than in any other prophet. - He gives expression to the most profound of spiritual truths in a form which only the sympathetic contemplation of nature could have suggested." (p. 22)
 - 4) See further, p. 81

YHWH brought up from the land (ארץ) of Egypt
 led in a land (ארץ) of deserts and pits
 in a land (ארץ) of drought and deep darkness
 in a land (ארץ) that none passes through
 I brought you into a fruitful land (ארץ הברכה)
 But when you came in, you defiled my land. (ארצ')

Therefore Jeremiah prophesied: -

"I looked, and lo, the fruitful land (הברכה) was a desert,
 and all its cities were laid in ruins before YHWH
 before His fierce anger." (4:26).

YHWH who brought His people into the fruitful land (YHWH's
 land) out of the 'desert' was about to turn the fruitful land into
 desert, because of their defiling the land and making it an
 abomination. W.Rudolph explained that this refers to the Baal
 cult.¹⁾

It is striking to hear the land named as YHWH's heritage
 (נחלת') and YHWH's land (ארצ'). When His people defiled
 'My land' and made 'My heritage' an abomination, the land suffers.

"An appalling and horrible thing (ושערוּרה שמה)
 has happened in the land." (Jer. 5:30).²⁾

Therefore, His people and His land are put together under
 YHWH's fierce anger (4:26) and under evil (6:19); so that the
 earth should see the evil.

"Hear, O earth, behold,
 I am bringing evil upon this people." (6:19).

1) W.Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, 1947, p. 13.

2) Jer. 2:12 and Jer. 5:30 form a striking contrast.
 2:12 - שמר ושערוּר ; 5:30 שמה ושערוּרה

'This people' is not 'My people' any more, and at the same time 'this land' is not 'My land' any more, until the time when YHWH creates a new thing on the earth (Jer. 31).

2. Historical prologue in the covenant Rib form.

G.E.Mendenhall pointed out that the historical prologue constitutes a point of similarity between the covenant form in the Old Testament and the Hittite treaty texts.¹⁾

H.B.Huffman, following G.E.Mendenhall, takes up the historical prologue as an important element of the 'covenant lawsuit', by which he distinguished the covenant lawsuit from the divine council lawsuits.²⁾

In his analysis of the structure of Dt. 32, G.E.Wright defined the historical prologue as 'Old Testament kerygma' - recital of the mighty acts of God.³⁾ D.R.Hillers called it by the new

1) G.E.Mendenhall, op. cit., 1955, p. 32f.

"The structure of the covenant is again the same (in Israel - and in the Hittite treaty texts): the delivery from Egypt was the first event in the previous relationships between the two parties, and this is the historical prologue which establishes the obligation of Israel to their benefactor." (p. 37).

2) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 295.

He distinguishes two types of lawsuits: "One type is connected with the divine council. The other, especially if it has an appeal to the natural elements, the covenant witnesses, and a historical prologue, is an indictment of Israel for breach of covenant." (p. 295).

3) G.E.Wright, op. cit., pp. 35, 52.

He analysed the structure of Dt. 32 and commented on it: - "Section 2, Kerygma: Appeal to the mighty acts of God (vv. 7-14). It consists of a call to remember what God had done for Israel." (p. 35).

On the form of the covenant lawsuit: - /...

name of 'covenant history'.¹⁾ In Jeremiah Chapter 2:6-7a, the historical prologue occurs in the Exodus (v.6), Wilderness-wandering (v.6), and Entry into YHWH's land (v.7) themes.

It is remarkable that the historical prologue in Jeremiah ch.2 is described in the framework of YHWH's Rib against unfaithful Israel (they did not ask: v.6a) and in the rhetorical question form (Where is YHWH?): the historical prologue is connected closely with the covenant-Rib form.²⁾

a. The Exodus formula in Jeremiah Ch.2.

In Jeremiah Chapter 2, the Exodus event is described in the 'העלה' formula which may be distinguished from the 'הוציא' formula.³⁾

v.6, "Where is YHWH
who brought (הוציא) us out of the land
of Egypt.?"

.../"3. Recital of the benevolent acts of the Suzerain. - The form, content, and unstereotyped nature of this recital are precisely parallel to the first main part of the covenant renewal (cf. Dt. 32:7-14; Mic. 6:3-5; Jer. 2:5-7a etc.)." p. 52.

- 1) D.R.Hillers, Covenant: the history of a Biblical Idea, p. 129. "We may deal more briefly with other covenant elements in these lawsuits. Yahweh's complaint is made, in both the cases quoted, on the basis of history, and we may rightly call it covenant History."

K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, 1960, pp. 20, 29. He called it 'Die Vorgeschichte'.

- 2) G.von Rad and M.Nothe have proposed to separate Sinai tradition from Exodus tradition. This hypothesis, that 'Sinai' constituted a separate tradition from the Exodus-conquest, has been sharply attacked by A.Weiser, J.Bright, W.Beyerlin, M.L.Newman, H.B.Huffman and G.E.Wright.

See further, pp. 348-373.

- 3) J.Wijngaards, "הוציא and העלה: A twofold Approach/...

- i. This Exodus formula occurs here in connection with YHWH. Jeremiah emphasized that YHWH Himself¹⁾ is the One who brought Israel from the land of Egypt. This emphasis is the same as that in Dt. 32:12, in Hosea and in the decalogue.²⁾ At the same time this proclamation constitutes a polemic against the worship of the golden calf, which ascribed the power to a molten calf:³⁾

"These are your gods, O Israel,
who brought you (הַעֲלֶיךָ) out of the land of Egypt."
(Ex. 32:4, 8; I Kings 12:28; Neh. 19:18).

- ii. This Exodus " הַעֲלֶיךָ " formula occurs here (Jer. 2:6-7a) in the three-fold expression of the saving acts of YHWH (the Exodus, the wilderness-wandering, the entry).⁴⁾ The

.../to the Exodus", VT 15, 1965, pp. 91-102.

The Exodus (הַעֲלֶיךָ) formula occurs 42 times in the Old Testament: -

Gen. 46:4; 50:24; Ex. 3:8, 17; 17:3; 32:1, 4, 7, 8, 23; 33:1; 12:15; Num. 16:13; 20:5; 21:5; Dt. 20:1; Josh. 24:17; Jud. 2:1; 6:8, 13; I Sam. 8:8; 10:18; 12:6; 2 Sam. 7:6; I Ki. 12:28; 2 Ki. 17:7, 36; Lev. 11:45; Num. 14:13; I Chr. 17:5; Neh. 9:18. Jer. 2:6; 11:7; 16:14; 23:7. Hos. 12:14; Am. 2:10; 3:1; 9:7; Mic. 6:4; Ps. 81:11.

The Exodus (אֲשֶׁר הָעֵלְךָ) formula occurs 5 times in the book of Jeremiah: -

Jer. 7:22; 11:4; 31:32; 32:21; 34:13.

- 1) In Jeremiah Ch.2, "YHWH" is one of the key-words emphasized by Jeremiah.
cf. Pp. 79, 307ff.
- 2) Dt. 32:12, "YHWH alone did lead him
and there was no foreign god with him."
Hos. 13:4-5, "I am YHWH your God from the land of Egypt.
You know no God but Me, and besides me there is no saviour."
Ex. 20:3, "You shall have no other gods before Me."
(cf. Dt. 5:7).
- 3) See further, pp. 282f.
- 4) See further, pp. 368-369.

examples in which this Exodus "העלה" formula and the entry "הבליא" formula occur together are connected with the Rib-motif or murmuring motif (Num. 16:12f.; 20:3-5)¹⁾ and the weeping (Rib) motif (Jud. 2:1-5).²⁾ In Jeremiah 2 this combined formula in the three-fold style is connected with the covenant-Rib form.

- iii. The Exodus formula is connected with the recital of the historical prologue in the covenant renewal festival.

Josh. 24:17 at Shechem by Joshua:

"Then the people answered -
'For it is YHWH our God who brought (המעלה) us and our fathers up out of the land of Egypt.'"

The העלה Exodus formula is found in the faithful response of the people of Israel, in the covenant renewal festival at Shechem.

I Sam. 12:6 at Gilgal by Samuel:

"And Samuel said to the people: 'YHWH is witness, who - brought (העלה) your fathers up out of the land of Egypt. Now therefore stand still, that I may plead with you before YHWH concerning all the saving deeds of YHWH.'"

This covenant renewal was solemnised in the "peace offerings before YHWH" at Gilgal where "all the men of Israel" gathered. The Exodus formula is recited by Samuel with the covenant form. (12:7).

-
- 1) cf. G.W.Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968, p. 156f.
Num. 16:12f.: murmuring motif.
Num. 20:3-5 : murmuring (Rib) motif.
- 2) See further, pp. 251ff.

iv. The Exodus (הַעֲלָה) formula is connected with the particular time (covenant renewal festival) and the particular place (the amphictyonic centre), but more precisely with a particular person: the prophetic messenger of YHWH.¹⁾

b. The Wilderness-Wandering in Jeremiah Ch.2.²⁾

In Jeremiah ch.2, the wilderness-wandering motif occurs twice, (vv.2, 6).

Jer. 2:6, "Where is YHWH?
who brought us up from the land of Egypt,
who led us in the wilderness,
in the land of desert and shifting
sands."

The 'leading-in-the-wilderness' form is expressed by the Hebrew ' מוֹלִיךְ בַּמִּדְבָּר '.³⁾ The verb 'lead' (מוֹלִיךְ) is hiphil-participle form of the root 'go' (הָלַךְ).⁴⁾ Then the

- 1) Moses: Ex. 3:8f.; Ex. 33:1-2. At Sinai/Horeb.
Joshua: Josh. 24:17f. At Shechem.
Samuel: I Sam. 12:6; (8:8; 10:18). At Gilgal (?).
The angel (מַלְאָךְ) of YHWH: Jud. 2:1. At Bochim (Bethel).
The prophet of YHWH: Jud. 6:8.
Nathan: II Sam. 7:6; I Chr. 17:5.
Hosea: 12:14.
Amos: Am. 2:10; 3:1; 9:7.
Micah: Mic. 6:4.
Jeremiah: Jer. 2:6; 11:7; 16:14; 23:7.
Asaph (the people of Asaph-Psalms): Ps. 81:11.

See further, pp. 353f., esp. 356.

- 2) See further, pp. 328ff.

- 3) 'Leading-in-the-wilderness' form: מוֹלִיךְ בַּמִּדְבָּר
Am. 2:10; Dt. 8:2, 15; 29:4; Ps. 136:16; Jer. 2:6.
See further, pp. 335f.

- 4) BDB. The hiphil participle form ' מוֹלִיךְ ' occurs 5 times in the O.T.
(Dt. 8:15; Jer. 2:6, 17; Is. 63:13; Zc. 5:10).

'going-into-the-wilderness',¹⁾ form may be its primitive or original form and the 'leading-in-the-wilderness' form seems to be the alternative form expanded under the influence of theological reflection.²⁾

- i. The 'leading-in-the-wilderness' form is connected with YHWH Himself. This is distinct from the 'going-into-the-wilderness' form.
- ii. The 'leading-in-the-wilderness' form occurs with the הָעֵלָה Exodus formula twice in the Old Testament (Am. 2:10; Jer. 2:6).
- iii. Jeremiah's concern is neither with the idealization of the wilderness-period nor with a positive evaluation of the wilderness-period, but with the gracious mighty acts of YHWH guiding them in the wilderness, which the people should remember and recite as 'Heilsgeschichte'.³⁾

- 1) 'Going-into-the-wilderness' form: הָלַךְ בַּמִּדְבָּר
Ex. 3:18; 5:3; Josh. 24:17; Neh. 9:18; Judg. 11:16; Jer. 2:2.
- 2) cf. J. Muilenburg, "The intercession of the covenant mediator (Ex. 33:1a, 12-17)", in Words and Meanings, Cambridge, 1968, p. 172f.
- 3) On Heilsgeschichte in this context: -

W. Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, p. 12.

He comments on Jer. 2:6: "Vielmehr hatte er sie mit Wohltaten überschüttet (6): die Grundtatsachen der Heilsgeschichte werden aufgezählt:".

A. Weiser, Das Buch Jeremia, ATD, pp. 16-17.

c. The Entry Formula in Jeremiah Ch.2.¹⁾

In Jeremiah ch.2 the 'entry event' is expressed by the ' הָבִיא ' formula¹⁾ as distinct from the ' נָתַן ' (landgiving) formula.

v.7, "And I brought (אָבִיא) you into a fruitful land to eat its fruits and its goodness."

- i. This settlement formula appears in the literary style of the covenant 'I and you' (YHWH and Israel).²⁾
- ii. This settlement formula seems to be an expansion from the older Sinai covenant tradition (Ex. 19:4):

"You have seen what I did to the Egyptians.
and how I bore you on eagles' wings,
and brought you to Myself." (אָבִיא אֶתְכֶם אֵלַי)

- 1) J.Wijngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed, 1963. He differentiated several sub-types of the 'landgiving' formula: -

The ' הָבִיא ' formula of settlement.

Ex. 13:5, 11; 15:17; 19:4, 6:8; Num. 14:3, 8, 16; 16:14; 20:5; 14:24; 15:18; Josh. 24:8; Jud. 2:1; Dt. 6:10, 23; 7:1; 8:7; 11:29; 26:9; 30:5; 31:20, 21, 23; Jer. 2:7; 3:14; 23:8; 31:8; Ez. 20:15, 28, 42; 34:24; 37:12, 21; Lev. 18:3; 20:22; Neh. 1:9; 9:23; Zech. 8:8; 10:10; Is. 43:5; 56:7; 60:9, 11.

The ' נָתַן ' formula of landgiving is more dominant in the Old Testament. In the book of Jeremiah several types of this formula occur: -

- a. 'YHWH gave us this land' Jer. 3:19; 32:22.
- b. 'The land that YHWH has given to us' Jer. 7:7; 15:14; 16:15; 17:4; 23:8; 24:10; 25:5; 30:3; 32:7, 9.
- c. 'The land that YHWH swore to our fathers to give to us'. Jer. 11:5; 32:22.

- 2) J.Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations", VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365, p. 352.

- iii. This settlement formula occurs in connection with the Exodus- and wilderness-wandering-formula. This is the theme of the 'Heilsgeschichte' which we find in Exodus 19: 3-8, Jud. 2:1-5, Deuteronomy 32, Hosea and the Asaph-Psalms.¹⁾

3. The Rhetorical Question in the Covenant Rib-Form.

In his article "Form Criticism and Beyond"²⁾ J. Muilenburg made a plea for "rhetorical criticism" and pointed out that "rhetorical questions are quite characteristic in the legal encounters."³⁾ Many years ago, J. Skinner noted: -

"In the passage (Jer. 2:4-13), we recognise some of the profoundest and most characteristic of Jeremiah's ideas. It is in the form of rhetorical expostulation - a Rib (v.9)." ⁴⁾

H.B. Huffmon described the 'Gattung' of the lawsuit following the Gunkel-Begriff analysis and pointed out the question form in it (the accusation in question form to the defendant).⁵⁾

- 1) Exodus 19:3-8 : Exodus, wilderness, and settlement (v.4).
 Dt. 32 : Wilderness-wandering (pictured in terms of the eagle's caring for her young) and the settlement.
 Hosea: : Exodus: Hos. 11:1; 12:14, 10; 13:4.
 Wilderness: Hos. 2:16; 9:10; 11:3; 13:5.
 Asaph-Psalms : Exodus: Ps. 81:11.
 Wilderness: Ps. 78:52-3.
- See further, pp. 360f.
- 2) J. Muilenburg, "Form Criticism and Beyond", JBL 88, 1969, pp. 1-18.
 3) *ibid.*, p. 16.
 4) J. Skinner, op. cit., p. 66..
 5) H.B. Huffmon, op. cit., p. 285.

Now we must examine the rhetorical questions in Jeremiah ch.2, to find out what characteristics they have. In YHWH's Rib form rhetorical questions occur (Dt.32:37, 6, 20; Hos. 6:4, 4; 11:8, 8; Mic. 6:3, 5, 6, 7, 8; Is. 1:12; 5, 11). In Jeremiah 2, we find many such rhetorical questions.¹⁾

a. Jer. 2:11

"Has a nation changed its gods (הָהִימָיִר)
even though they are no gods?
But My people have changed their Glory,
for 'no-profit'."

The content of this rhetorical question is very interesting. The terminology 'to change the glory' (הָמִיר כְּבֹד) occurs three times in the Old Testament (Jer. 2:11; Jos. 4:7; Ps. 106:20).²⁾

Hos. 4:7 "I will change their Glory into shame."

Ps.106:20 "They exchanged the Glory of God
for the image of an ox that eats grass."

In Hos. 4:7 it occurs in the context of the sin of the people and of the priests, and in connection with the 'covenant Rib form' (Hos. 4:1f).³⁾

1) See further, pp. 93-95.

2) cf. C.D.Ginsburg, Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of Hebrew Bible, 1897. He pointed out 18 passages as 'the Emendation of the Sopherim' including: -
Jer. 2:11, Hos. 4:7, Ps. 106:20.
He suggested that the original expressions were as follows: -
(p. 352)

Jer. 2:11	- My people hath changed <u>My Glory</u> ;
Hos. 4:7	- <u>My Glory</u> they have changed into shame;
Ps. 106:20	- They changed <u>My Glory</u> .

3) See further, pp. 215-216, 219f.

In Ps. 106 it occurs in reference to the sin and disobedience of the people which seems to have been recalled in the covenant renewal festival¹⁾ or in the 'Bussliturgie'²⁾. Thus this literary expression has its link with the tradition-stream through Hos.4:1f., Jer. 2 and Ps. 106.

According to the description given in Ps. 106:19-20 this latter passage refers to the 'golden calf' incident at Horeb³⁾ recorded in Ex. 32: -

"They made a calf (עֵגֶל) in Horeb
and worshipped a molten image (מַסֵּכָה).
They exchanged the Glory of God
for the image of an ox (גֵּוֹ)
that eats grass." (Ps. 106:19-20).

The description of the golden calf incident at Horeb (Ex. 32) has a close link with the aberrations of Jeroboam (I) as recorded in I Kings 12: -⁴⁾

1) A.Weiser, The Psalms, ATD, p. 679f. (ET).

2) H.-J. Kraus, Psalmen II, BK, p. 728.

3) At Horeb (Ex. 3:1; 33:6), Horeb is the more Deuteronomistic name for Sinai (Dt. 1:2, 6, 9:8 etc.). In P. the name "Sinai" is dominant, (Ex. 19:1-2; 31:18; 34:29; Lev.).

4) In particular, M.Noeth insists on this position: -
"The history of the tradition of the narrative of the golden calf cannot be separated from the setting up to two 'golden calves' in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan by King Jeroboam of Israel, reported in I Kings 12:28f."

He says further: "We must reckon with the possibility that the narrative of Ex. 32 was originally composed with reference to Jeroboam's cult-politics."

M.Noeth, Exodus, OTL (ET), p. 246.

cf. S.Lehming, "Versuch zu Ex. 32", VT 10, 1960, pp. 16-50.

Even though we cannot agree with M.Noeth at all points, we can recognize that there is a close link between the two passages (Ex. 32 and I Ki. 12).

"Is not the very raison d'être of this incident the aberrations of Jeroboam I in I Kings 22:28?" 1)

In these descriptions, in Ex. 32 and I Ki. 12, we find the history of the religious crisis as the background of the covenant-Rib.²⁾ The serious sin of Israel was introduced here on two counts: -

- (i) They made other gods, refusing Moses and YHWH.

"Up, make us gods, who shall go before us." (Ex. 32:1).
 "He (Aaron) made a molten calf; and they said
 'These are your gods, O Israel, who brought you up
 out of the land of Egypt!'" (Ex. 32:4) -
 (I Ki. 12:28)

The confession of the rebellious Israel under Aaron (Ex. 32:4, 8; Neh. 9:18) is the same as Jeroboam's in I Kings 12:28. Such a confession is nothing short of flouting the sovereign claim of YHWH - the covenant Lord. Against this false confession, the commandment³⁾ declares: -

"I am YHWH, your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt." 4) (Ex. 20:2 = Dt. 5:6). "You shall have no other gods beside Me."

1) N.C.Habel, Yahweh versus Baal, 1964, p. 20.

2) See further, pp. 276f., esp. pp. 282-283.

3) Much recent scholarship has been concerned with the Ten Commandments: -

cf. J.J.Stamm-M.E.Andrew, The Ten Commandments in Recent Research, SBT 2, 1967.

E.Nielsen, The Ten Commandments in New Perspective, SBT II, 7, 1968.

4) On Ex. 20:2: -

W.Zimmerli, Ich bin Jahwe, 1953, (pp. 11-40; in GAAT.)

K.Elliger, Ich bin der Herr - Euer Gott, 1954.

Zimmerli suggests that the oldest form in its shortest/...

(ii) They made for themselves the calf image.

"Aaron made a molten calf." (עגל מסכה) -
Ex. 32:4, 24, 8.

The incident of the making of a molten calf to be their god, is identical with that recorded in connection with Jeroboam who made two calves of gold and set one in Bethel and the other in Dan (I Kings 12:28-29). YHWH has no image and He is 'unseen' (Dt. 4:15; Ex. 33:20), but He reveals Himself in His Glory (וַיִּכָּרֶם : Ex. 33:18, 22). The bull (calf) image was an idol and has associations with the Baal religions of Canaan. Against such a making of idol-images, the second commandment declares: "You shall not make for yourself a graven image." (פסל) (Ex. 20:4; Dt. 5:8).¹⁾

Concerning Ex. 32 new problems arise: - i. Moses takes up the Rib against the people of Israel (v.21f.) and ii. The breaking of the covenant and covenant renewal (32:19; 34:1-28).

.../version is 'Ich bin Yahweh'.

Elliger classifies two forms: shorter and longer - shorter forms are used at the end of the law to confirm the law; longer forms include the statement of the 'Heilsgeschichte' as in the 'classic standard passage' (Ex. 20:2; Dt. 5:6).

- 1) Ex. 34:17 (מסכה), Dt. 27:15, a graven or molten image (פסל ומסכה).

As regards this decalogue-sentence, the problem is whether the reference is to an image of YHWH or to Canaanite cultic images.

W.Zimmerli has shown that it is mainly directed against Yahweh images which appeared in Israel at a quite early period.

H.Th.Obbink per contra suggested that it was not a matter of images of Yahweh but of Canaanite cultic images which might have been set up in Yahweh sanctuaries.

W.Zimmerli, "Das zweite Gebot", G.A.A.T., 1963, pp. 234-248.
H.T.Obbink, "Jahwebilder", ZAW 47, 1929, pp. 264-274.

(i) Moses takes up the Rib against the people of Israel.

'Moses said to Aaron, "What did this people do to you that you have brought a great sin upon them?"'
 'Moses said to the people, "You have sinned a great sin -"'. (הָלַלְתֶּם) - (Ex. 32:21, 30).

The important problem here is that Moses takes up the Rib against the people of Israel. The Rib in the rhetorical question "What did this people do?" (מַה) is made to refer to a great sin (הָלַלְתֶּם : v.21, 30): that is "they have made for themselves gods of gold" (v.31) - breaking the covenant relation between YHWH and His people. It is Moses' office to do with 'judging every great (הָלַלְתֶּם) matter' (Ex. 18:22), to make them know the way in which they must walk and what they must do (Ex. 18:20).

(ii) The Breaking of the Covenant and Covenant Renewal.

The broken and duplicate tables of stone apparently symbolize the broken and renewed covenants respectively (Ex. 32:19; 34:1f., 28). These tables of stone pose a problem of interpretation. Both Exodus 34:1-4 and 34:28 seem to refer back to the original ten debarim (עֲשֵׂה לְךָ אֱלֹהִים) formulated on the first tables. Why, then, is the so-called "ritual decalogue" (Ex. 34:11-26) introduced at this point and made part of the covenant renewal situation?

To this question N.C.Habel¹⁾ answered with two suggestions:

- a. Concern for a "de-Canaanized" cult.

1) N.C.Habel, op. cit., p. 23.

This legislation is concerned with the crises of life for the Israelites in Canaan. This "ritual decalogue" stipulates that all Canaanite cultic symbols and sacrifices are to be shattered (vv.13, 17). While Canaanite agricultural festivals are to be modified to conform to the cult of Israel as YHWH's festival (vv.18-26).

b. Concern to stress 'the connection between the covenant and the cultic festivals.

The very juxtaposition of the festivals with the renewal of the covenant at Sinai would suggest that the festivals and cultic acts of Israel are the provided means of communion whereby the Israelite tribes in Canaan can regularly maintain and renew the covenant with YHWH. Theoretically, then, all festivals could be considered covenant renewal festivals.

The double reference to Rib, in Ex. 32:19 (the breaking of the covenant) and in Ex. 34:10; 27-28 (covenant renewal), makes it clear that covenant Rib refers to both these aspects.

b. Jer. 2:29

"Why (למה) do you dispute (Rib) with Me?
()¹⁾ All of you rebelled against Me,
the oracle of YHWH."

This is a comprehensive and composite expression referring to the form, content and significance of Israel's Rib in the wilderness. The understanding of the murmuring in the wilderness varies among the texts of the Old Testament. Three main texts are traceable

1) See p. 59, 36.

Ex. 17:2; Num. 20:13; Ps. 78:18.

i. Ex. 17:2.

The rhetorical question form ("Why do you dispute with Me?" v.29) is identical with the one which occurs in Ex. 17:2 describing the murmuring of Israel in the wilderness:

"Why do you dispute with Me?" (תריבון).

This dispute here is between Moses and Israel. The murmuring motif¹⁾ in Ex. 17:2 is written with the local aetiological concern for the name of Meribah (Ex. 17:7) : this name is explained simply 'because of the Rib of the children of Israel'.

ii. Num. 20:13.

The bearing of this rhetorical question is shifted from Moses -Israel (Ex.17:2) to YHWH-Israel (Num. 20:13).

"These are the waters of Meribah, where the people of Israel contended (Rib) with YHWH, and He showed Himself holy among them." (Num.20:13).

iii. Ps. 78:18.

The Rib in the wilderness is taken up, with a new significance, in the Asaph-Psalm 78:17 :

"They sinned still more against Him rebelling (למרדת) against the Most High in the desert."

The Rib in the wilderness is not only connected with the murmuring motif, but also with the rebellion of Israel against

1) G.W.Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968, p. 53f.

YHWH.

In Jeremiah ch.2:29, we can find comprehensive expression of these three passages. The rhetorical question form is similar to the one in Ex. 17:2, the Rib with YHWH is the same as in Num. 21:13, and 'all of you rebelled against Me' is the same idea as that expressed in Ps. 78:17. The characteristic of Jer. 2:29 is to be found not only in its standing on the historical tradition of the Rib in the wilderness, but more precisely in its 'Vergegenwärtigung'¹⁾ (actualization into the here and now) of these traditions.

4. "Sitz im Leben" of the "Rib".

In his book Prophecy and Religion, J. Skinner pointed out that the Rib form is one of the characteristics of Jeremiah's ideas:

"In the passage (ch.2:4-13) we recognise some of the profoundest and most characteristic of Jeremiah's ideas. It is in the form of rhetorical expostulation - a Rib (v.9)." 2)

It is quite evident that the prophet Jeremiah used the Rib form in his prophetic judgement speech.

The progress of research on this Rib form is associated above all with the name of Hugo Gressmann and Hermann Gunkel.³⁾

- 1) N.W. Porteous, Living the Mystery, 1967, pp. 127, 37.
"The Old Testament and Some Theological Thought Forms", pp. 31-46.
"Actualization and the Prophetic Criticism of the Cult", pp. 127-141.
- 2) J. Skinner, op. cit., pp. 66-67. He supposed that "the prophet might have spoken to an assembly in the temple courts". (p. 67).
- 3) H. Gressmann, "Die literarische Analyse Deuterojesajas", ZAW 34, pp. 254-297. He had already discussed the Rib in this article.
H. Gunkel-J. Begrich, op. cit., 1933, pp. 329-364.

In his book, H.Gunkel isolated a particular form (Gattung) of the "prophetische Gerichtsrede" among the various literary forms.¹⁾ He analysed not only the 'Gattung' but also the 'Sitz im Leben' of the 'Gattung', holding that the special form of the 'Gerichtsrede' came from the 'Rechtsleben'. Since the time of Gunkel, the problem of the 'Sitz im Leben' of the prophetic 'Gerichtsrede' - Rib form - has been taken up: Did the 'Gerichtsrede' (Rib-form) originate in the sphere of (a) the civil court at the gate,²⁾ (b) the cult,³⁾ or (c) international relationships?⁴⁾

(a) The legal process in the civil court at the gate.

J.Begrich⁵⁾ laid the foundation for the study of legal forms with his analysis of the Gerichtsrede. Following an earlier description of 'Gerichtsreden' by Gunkel, J.Begrich defines the structure of the legal process.

The first stage of the structure is an initial quarrel between two parties, either private individuals or groups. This quarrel is composed of an exchange of accusations and counter-

1) H.Gunkel-J.Begrich, op. cit., p. 22: -
1. Bestimmung des "Sitz im Leben", 2. Bestimmung des Inhaltes einer Gattung, 3. Bestimmung der Formensprache.

2) L.Köhler, J.Begrich, H.J.Boecker, H.W.Wolff, D.A.McKenzie, C.Westermann, E.von Waldow.

3) E.Würthwein, A.Weiser, D.J.McCarthy, G.E.Wright, J.Jeremias.

4) J.Harvey, G.E.Mendenhall, K.Baltzer, J.Limburg, P.H.Williams.

5) J.Begrich, op. cit., BWANT 1938, pp. 19ff.

cf. E.von Waldow, op. cit., BZAW 85, 1963, pp. 1f.

accusations. The point to note here is that this stage is informal. There is no judge present, no witness. (For example: the quarrel between David and Saul in I Sam. 24:12ff.)

The second stage is the formal process of law.¹⁾ The plaintiff and defendant present themselves at the public square where the judges and witnesses can be chosen from the assembled citizens of the community.

J.Begrich feels that the whole scope of the legal process from the pre-official accusation and response to the official court procedure contains enough cohesion to be considered a unified form (Gattungseinheit). He found that the term Rib does not describe the total process but serves instead as 'die technische Bezeichnung der Verhandlung des Streites vor Gericht'.²⁾

It is the important contribution of Ludwig Köhler³⁾ that he made clear the structure of Israel's 'Rechtsgemeinde'. He explained what role the legal assembly had in the Hebrew country side, using the illustration of the book of Ruth, (4:1-2): -

"The legal assembly carries out its functions in the gate. The prophet repeatedly warned men that righteousness should dwell in the gates. - The legal assembly comes together when there is need. (Jer. 26). In the villages and country side of Palestine the legal assembly met in the open air and administered justice."⁴⁾

1) Jer. 26 presents the full scope of this legal process.

2) J.Begrich, op. cit., BWANT, p. 37.

3) L.Köhler, "Justice in the Gate", Appendix in Hebrew Man, 1956.

4) ibid., pp. 151, 153.

H.J.Boecker¹⁾ apparently agrees with this position of Begrich and Köhler, but refines the definition one stage further. He includes the whole *Gerichtsrede*, both the official process and the pre-official quarrel, under this term Rib. He understands Rib as in most cases a term for the conducting of the legal process as a whole. On the question of 'Sitz im Leben' he concludes that "die Gerichtsreden bei den Propheten durch die Übernahme der Redeformen aus der hebräischen Rechtsgemeinde zu verstehen seien."²⁾

H.W.Wolff also explained Rib (רִיב) in Hosea on the same lines: -

"Rib bezeichnet den Wechsel der Reden vor Gericht (c. 4:1, 12:3) und somit die Prozessführung im ganzen."³⁾

C.Westermann is the first specialist in the prophetic style to give a considerable importance to the '*Gerichtsrede*'. He considers that '*Gerichtsrede*' is a reflection of secular legal life, and states, "the origin in the profane judgment-speech is confirmed".⁴⁾ Thus he stands in the same line as J.Begrich and H.J. Boecker. C.Westermann recognises that the '*Gerichtsrede*' against the people is a development of the '*Gerichtsrede*' against individuals,⁵⁾ and further on he admits that the Rib pattern which he

- 1) H.J.Boecker, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament, WMANT 14, 1964. (Redeformen des israelitischen Rechtslebens, Dissertation Bonn 1959, vgl. "Anklagereden und Verteidigungsreden im A.T.", EvTh 1960, pp. 398ff.)
- 2) *ibid.*, p. 93, cf. E.von Waldow, op. cit., p. 9.
- 3) H.W.Wolff, Hosea, BK, p. 39.
- 4) C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, 1967, p. 221.
- 5) *ibid.*, p. 169.

calls 'Rechtsverhandlung' (legal procedure) is only a simple literary 'clothing': -

"The only variant formulations of the prophetic speech that will be treated here are those in which the speech is placed in a borrowed form such as that of a legal dispute."¹⁾

E.Würthwein is the first person to criticize the theory that the 'Sitz im Leben' of the 'Gerichtsrede' is the legal sphere.

(b) The cultic background.

E.Würthwein²⁾ explored the problem of the connection between prophetic judgement speeches and cultic events, leaning on the general 'Gattungsforschung' and on the observations of A.Weiser. Proceeding from this question, he finds the origin of a small group of speeches, termed 'prophetic judgment-speeches'³⁾ in a cultic event - an act of the cultic drama - in which Yahweh appears as judge.⁴⁾ To Würthwein it does not seem correct to say that the

1) *ibid.*, p. 199.

Note: - R.E.Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, p. 78, n.2; p.79. "It is much more probable that the prophets borrowed directly from the language of civil lawsuits. So far as the origin of the prophetic law-suit-oracles is concerned, ... the form itself was modelled upon the procedures developed in ordinary civil courts."

cf. E.von Waldow, op. cit., p. 20.

2) E.Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede", ZTK 49, 1952, pp. 1-6.

3) E.Würthwein stresses the interpretation of Rib as prophetic 'Gerichtsrede' and favours the translation 'Anklagerede' (accusation-speech: Hos. 4:1f., 12:3f.; Is. 3:13f.; Mic. 6:1f.; Jer. 2:5f.; 25:30f.; Mal. 3:5).

4) E.Würthwein finds the allusion to the original place of the 'Anklagerede' in a group of texts in the Psalms in which Yahweh appears as judge (Ps. 96:11-13; 98:7-9; 76:8-10; 50:1-7).

prophetic 'Gerichtsrede' is an imitation of the profane judgment-speeches¹⁾ or borrowed from civil legal procedure. He proposes to look for its background in the cultic 'Gerichtsszene', the accusation of YHWH against His people, pronounced by the prophet at the temple on the occasion of a religious festival.²⁾ So he concluded that "der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede in einer kultischen Gerichtsszene gesehen werden muss."³⁾ He makes an attempt to prove the relation between 'prophet and cult' and 'die Stellung des Propheten im Kult'.

Würthwein does not succeed in determining the particular feast in the context of which the prophetic judgement-speeches were actually spoken in the cult, and with which the appearance of God as judge was connected.⁴⁾

G.E.Wright pursues the problem concerning the particular feast which provided the cultic background of the Rib form. In his study on Dt. 32, G.E.Wright⁵⁾ suggests that the covenant renewal ceremony

1) cf. C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 77 (ET).

2) cf. J.Harvey, op. cit., p. 174.

3) E.Würthwein, op. cit., p. 15.

4) C.Westermann, J.Harvey and G.E.Wright criticize this point. C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 77; J.Harvey, op. cit., p. 174; G.E.Wright, op. cit., p. 59, note 64.

Note: Hesse opposes Würthwein's position: - F.Hesse, "Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult?", ZAW 65, 1953, pp. 45-53.

cf. E.von Waldow, op. cit., pp. 1-2.

5) G.E.Wright, "The Lawsuit of God", in IPH, 1962, pp. 26-67.

was altered into a penitential service by the use of the Rib-motif:

"To me it appears possible that at one time in North Israel the covenant-renewal celebration was revised and turned into a penitential service by the use of the Rib-motif."¹⁾

J. Harvey and W. Beyerlin take up this line:

J. Harvey noticed the connection between the Rib and the day of fasting, basing his view on Jud. 20:26, I Sam. 7:5f., 31:13, Jer. 14:11, 36:6, Joel 2:12-19, and found especially in these days of fasting the opportunity for the prophetic Rib.²⁾

W. Beyerlin pointed out that the cultic 'Sitz im Leben' of the covenant-Rib ('Bundesbruch-Rib') is the 'amphiktyonische Buss- und Fasten-Feier' (Jud. 20:26, 21:2f., I Sam. 7:3ff.).³⁾

This is very suggestive, in particular, when applied to Jeremiah's case. According to Jeremiah-biography⁴⁾ (MT. Ch. 36):

1) *ibid.*, p. 59.

2) J. Harvey, *op. cit.*, Bibl. 43, 1962, p. 195.

3) W. Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch", in 'A. Weiser-Festschrift' Tradition und Situation, pp. 1-29, esp. p. 27.

4) On ch. 36, S. Mowinckel, Gruppe B (Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia) which Rudolph followed: *Die Erzählung über Jeremia* (Mowinckel's Quelle B).

T. H. Robinson: B-Biographical and historical prose (Baruch's Roll).

J. Bright: Type B-Biographical prose by Biographer with chronological date (Jeremiah, AncB.), Hyatt: Baruch's memories (Jeremiah, IB).

On Baruch's Scroll, T. H. Robinson, "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42/...

"Jeremiah ordered Baruch, saying, - 'you are to go, and on a fast day in the hearing of all the people in the Lord's house you shall read the words of the Lord from the scroll which you have written at my dictation.'" (36:5-6)

"In the fifth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, in the ninth month, all the people in Jerusalem and all the people - proclaimed a fast before the Lord. Then in the hearing of all the people, Baruch read the words of Jeremiah from the scroll." (36:9-10).

It is quite true that the fast day provided an opportunity for Jeremiah to proclaim the prophetic Rib-form speech. The aim of the prophetic covenant Rib-form speech is repentance and penitence of His sinful people.¹⁾

(c) The international treaty.

In his article "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", H.B.Huffman²⁾ throws new light upon the study of the Rib form and its 'Sitz im Leben'. Following G.E.Mendenhall³⁾ who finds a close parallel between the covenant forms in Israel and the international treaties (Hittite) of the end of the second Millennium, he classifies the lawsuits into two different types: one is the divine council lawsuit and the other is the covenant lawsuit which has close parallels with the Hittite treaties: -

"There are two fairly distinct types of lawsuits. One type is connected with the divine council. The other, especially if it has an appeal to the natural elements, the covenant witnesses, and a historical prologue, is an indictment of Israel for breach of covenant. It is

1) See further, p. 292f.

2) H.B.Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-295.

3) G.E.Mendenhall, Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 1955.

ultimately dependent upon the covenant concluded between Yahweh and Israel at Mt. Sinai."¹⁾

Accepting Mendenhall's contribution, H.B.Huffman pointed out the close parallel between the Hittite treaty and the covenant lawsuit. Both of them have two elements: an appeal to the natural witnesses and the historical prologue.

J.Harvey²⁾ makes his hypothesis the search for the origin of the Rib pattern in international law and illustrated the existence of extra-Biblical parallels from Rib of Tukulti-Ninurta (the king of Assur) and from the archives of Mari etc. J.Harvey endeavours to derive the pattern of the prophetic lawsuit from the idea of the covenant as based on the form of near-eastern suzerainty treaties. He tried to apply the international treaty-structure to the covenant Rib relation between Yahweh-sovereign and Israel-vassal.

It is very questionable that the covenant relation between YHWH and His people is in fact conceived as a treaty between sovereign and vassal.

D.R.Hillers³⁾ set about considering such parallels as exist between treaties and biblical covenants following the lead of

- 1) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 295.
The divine council lawsuits: Is. 1:18-20; 3:13-15; Mic. 1:2-7; Ps. 82.
The covenant lawsuit: Mic. 6:4-5; Jer. 2:4-13; Dt. 32; Hos. 4:1-3; Ps. 50.
- 2) J.Harvey, op. cit., Bibl. 43, 1962, pp. 172-196.
- 3) D.R.Hillers, Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets, 1964.
Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea, 1969.

G.E.Mendenhall, who was the first to call attention to the resemblances. As to the relation between the Sinai covenant and the treaties, he wrote: -

"At some early date, probably even before the conquest, Israel entered into a covenant with Yahweh modelled on a particular sort of international alliance, a suzerainty treaty."¹⁾

In the prophetic 'lawsuit of God' or covenant lawsuit, D.R. Hillers pointed out certain parallels to the international treaties: an appeal to natural elements, covenant history, and traditional curses. These are associated with treaties, so said he: -

"Outside the Bible, appeal to heaven and earth as witnesses is practically limited to treaties. It is a standard feature of the second-millennium Hittite treaties, is attested at Ugarit, recurs in a different form in one of the Aramaic Sefire treaties (eighth century B.C.), and stands in Hannibal's treaty with Philip V of Macedon (235 B.C.)."²⁾

James Limburg³⁾ draws attention to occurrences of Rib in a sphere of international relationships, which occurs in the Jephthah story (Judg. 10:17-12:6) and on the third of the eighth-century Sefire steles: -

"In both the Jephthah peri-cope and Sefire III the root (Rib) is used in connection with international complaints."⁴⁾

1) D.R.Hillers, Covenant, p. 70.

2) *ibid.*, p. 128.

3) J.Limburg, "The Root Rib and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches", JBL 88, 1969, pp. 291-304.

4) *ibid.* p. 301.

It is D.J. McCarthy¹⁾ who criticized the argument from the Hittite vassal treaties, maintaining that there is no evidence of suzerainty treaty influence on any of the early Sinai traditions. As to the covenant lawsuit, the Rib form, he recognised its similarities and relations with the treaty: -

"Thus the prophets indicted Israel along lines suitable to the treaty tradition."²⁾

E. von Waldow's work³⁾ may be seen as the most comprehensive one. He sees the prophetic 'Gerichtsreden' (lawsuit-speeches) as 'Sammelbegriff': -

1. as employing forms from the court at the gate;
2. as modified by the content of the Sinai covenant traditions;
3. and as standing in an interesting parallelism with the old Hittite treaty (G.E. Mendenhall), in particular, at the point of the role of heavens and earth as its witnesses and the historical prologue: -

"Formally considered the prophetic Gerichtsreden are rooted in the profane juridical activity of the Hebrew juridical assembly (Rechtsgemeinde). But seen from the standpoint of the content, they refer back to the tradition of the covenant of Jahweh with Israel."⁴⁾

- 1) D.J. McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, 1963. "Covenant in the Old Testament", CBQ 27, 1965, pp. 217-240.
- 2) *ibid.*, p. 232.
- 3) E. von Waldow, Der traditions-geschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden, BZAW 85, 1963.
- 4) *ibid.*, p. 20.

R.E. Clements, Prophecy and Covenant, SBT, 1965, p. 79. He also stands on the same line. He states: -
 "Whilst it is clear that the content of the accusations which the prophets levelled against Israel in the lawsuit was derived from the tradition of the covenant, the form itself was /...

In the next chapter (IV. Tradition Analysis) we must conduct our own examination to discover whether Jeremiah Chapter 2 has any connection with the tradition of the covenant and the covenant-Rib of YHWH with Israel.

7. The Uniqueness of the Covenant Rib Form in Jeremiah Ch.2.

The book of Jeremiah chapter 2 contains the comprehensive usage of prophetic speech which redactor(s) edited in order to collect the prophetic speeches of Jeremiah under a particular subject: that is concerning the 'Covenant-Rib' (the Rib of covenant-breaking).¹⁾

A striking characteristic of this form of 'covenant-Rib' lies in the fact that the accusation is comprehensive. Each time it is concerned with the whole state of the nation before God.²⁾

Accusation against the covenant-breaker in Jeremiah ch.2 covers every sphere: cultic, legal and international.

a. The cultic sphere: Apostasy.

i. YHWH versus Baal

- Jer. 2:5, "They followed 'emptiness' and became 'empty'".
 8, "Prophets prophesied by Baal
 and followed 'Not-profit'."
 11, "My people have changed their Glory for
 'Not-profit'."

.../modelled upon the procedures developed in ordinary civil courts."

1) See further, p. 131f.

2) cf. C.Westermann, op. cit., p. 200.

These accusations manifest the ineffectiveness of the gods, and the idols of the apostates.

ii. Baal worship.

- v.7, "You made my heritage an abomination."
- v.25, "I loved 'strangers' (gods)
and after them will I go."
- v.27, "They say to a stock, 'You are my father',
and to a stone, 'You have begotten me'."

b. The legal sphere:

i. On the Torah

- v.8, "Those who handled the law did not know Me."

ii. On the 'mishpatim' (מִשְׁפָּטִים) Ex. 23:6; 22:1.

- v.34, "Even on the corners of your robe there is
the life-blood of the (poor) innocent."
(cf. Ex. 23:6).
"You did not get it by housebreaking."
(Ex. 22:1).

iii. Violation of the Decalogue.

Baal worship (apostasy) itself is a violation of the decalogue.

c. The international sphere:

- v.18, "Now what means this going to Egypt
to drink the waters of the Nile?
What means this going to Assyria
to drink the waters of the Euphrates?"
- v.36, "Even by Egypt will you be ashamed,¹⁾
as you were ashamed by Assyria."

1) On Jer. 2:18, and 36.

J.Milgrom, "The Date of Jeremiah, Chapter 2", JNES 14, 1955, pp. 65-69. He wrote this article from a chronological concern, saying, "This paper has shown that the chronological peg of 622 (B.C.) ... (chaps. 1 and 2 being pre-reform;) -". p.69.

I am more concerned with the editorial processes which produced the comprehensive character of the covenant Rib form in Jer.2.

Even though Jeremiah's accusation against Israel covers every sphere, Jeremiah pointed out the fundamental sin from which all their evils are derived: that is 'forsaking YHWH' (Jer. 2: 13, 17, 19). In the autobiographical section the matter is put in the following way: -

"I will utter my judgement against them,
for all their evils in forsaking Me."
(Jer. 1:16).

This indicates Israel's breaking covenant with YHWH.

A question arises: What is the role and aim of the covenant Rib?

- i. In Jeremiah ch.2 the covenant Rib has the role of making them (Israel) know their sin and apostasy:

"How evil and bitter it is to have
forsaken YHWH." (Jer. 2:19).

- ii. It is the aim of the covenant Rib that Israel might repent their sin and apostasy (ch. 3f.) - Shubah Meshubah Israel - (Jer. 3:12b) and then make renewal of their covenant with YHWH (ch. 31:31-34).

CHAPTER FOUR

The Analysis of the Tradition upon which Jeremiah Ch.2 stands:

I n t r o d u c t i o n :

Many years ago S.R.Driver suggested that there is a literary link between Dt. 32, Hosea 2, Ps. 106, and Jeremiah Ch.2.¹⁾

"The Song (of Moses: Dt.32:1-43) shows great originality in form, being a presentation of prophetic thoughts in a poetical dress, which is unique in the OT. - The thought and the style of composition exhibit also a maturity which points to a period considerably later than that of Moses. The style of treatment, as a historical retrospect, is in the manner of Hos. 2, Jer. 2, Ezek. 20, Ps. 106. The theme is developed with great literary and artistic skill; the images are varied and expressive; the parallelism is usually regular, and very forcible."

We must examine not only the literary links, but also the relation of the respective occurrences of the Covenant Rib in Jeremiah Ch.2 and Deuteronomy 32, Hosea, and the Asaph-Psalms.²⁾

1) S.R.Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, 1913, (9th ed.), p. 96.

W.F.Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Deuteronomy 32", VT 9, 1959, pp. 339-346.

W.F.Albright has criticized S.R.Driver's suggestion: - "He (S.R.Driver) comments on the 'maturity' of thought and style, comparing Dt. 32 with Hos. 2, Jer. 2, Ez. 20, Ps. 106. Needless to say, there is little in common when we turn to compare form and language." (p. 339).

2) Twelve Psalms are attributed to Asaph (Pss. 50, 73-83) through their headings, and some others (Pss. 96, 105, 106) are linked with Asaph through I Chr. 16:7-36.

See further, p. 225f.

I. Literary - and Covenant - Rib Tradition.

A. Deuteronomy 32.

1. Literary Characteristics of Dt. 32.

Some scholars have recently re-examined the Song of Moses in Dt. 32. O.Eissfeldt, W.F.Albright and P.W.Skehan have set forth the view that the song may be dated as early as the late eleventh century B.C.¹⁾ Most scholars, however, have preferred a late date because this Song of Moses has appeared to be too heavily influenced by the prophetic movement to bear an early date.

O.Eissfeldt recognized the similarity between Deuteronomy 32 and the book of Jeremiah in style and vocabulary.²⁾

W.L.Holladay paid attention to the same relation in his essay: "Jeremiah and Moses", in which he tried to prove some parallels between the Song of Moses and Jeremiah and said: -

"It is perhaps significant that more of the parallels with the Song of Moses cited above are found in Jeremiah 2 than in any other chapter."³⁾

1) O.Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses Deut. 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs-Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes, 1958.

W.F.Albright, "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses in Dt. 32", VT 9, 1959, pp. 339-346.

P.W.Skehan, "The Structure of the Song of Moses in Dt.", CBQ 13, 1951, pp. 153-63.

2) O.Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 17.

"Was 1. angeht, so wird etwa die Ähnlichkeit einiger Stellen unseres Liedes mit solchen des Jeremia-Buches so erklärt, dass Jeremia von Dtn. 32 abhängig ist. Dtn 32 also älter sein muss als Jeremia."

3) W.L.Holladay, "Jeremiah and Moses. Further Observations", JBL 85, 1966, pp. 17-27, p. 27.

There are some terminologies¹⁾ and literary characteristics common to Deuteronomy 32 and Jeremiah Chapter 2: a. Repetition and parallelism, b. negative expressions.

a. Repetition and parallelism.²⁾

A literary style featuring repetition and parallelism is also characteristic of Deuteronomy 32.

v.2, May my teaching drop like (𐤓) the rain

my speech distil like (𐤓) the dew

like (𐤓) gentle rain on the grass

like (𐤓) showers on the herbs.

v.6, Is not He thy father who created thee? (𐤍𐤕𐤕)

He who made thee and formed thee? (𐤍𐤕𐤕)

34, Is not He - ? (𐤍𐤕𐤕)

v.39 the first person pronoun is repeated four times:

See now that I (𐤀𐤕𐤍), even I (𐤀𐤕𐤍) am He

I (𐤀𐤕𐤍) kill and restore to life,

After I have smitten I (𐤀𐤕𐤍) heal.

There is no (𐤀𐤕𐤍) god beside me -

there is none (𐤀𐤕𐤍) that can save from my hand.

1) On "Terminology common to Dt. 32 and Jer. ch.2"; see further, p.257 ✓

2) W.F.Albright, Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, London, 1968, p.15. He points out that Dt. 32 contains some instances of repetitive parallelism, (vv.2, 6, 14 (in LXX), 43, 39, 22, 21).

He explains that "Deut 32 contains only echoes of true repetitive parallelism and that it dates from a time when assonance and paronomasia had become characteristic features of poetic style." (p.17)

One other example of parallelism in Dt. 32:43 may be restored from the Greek and a Qumrân fragment: /...

v.32, For their vine (גפן) comes from the vine (גפן)
of Sodom,
from the fields of Gomorrah.

v.21, They have stirred me to jealousy with No-God, (בלא-אל)
they have provoked me (קנאני) with their idols,
So I will stir them to jealousy with No-people (בלא-עם)
I will provoke them (אקניאם) with a foolish nation.

b. Negative expressions in Dt. 32.

In Deuteronomy ch.32, there are many occurrences of the negative words לא and אין.¹⁾ This may be said to be characteristic of the chapter.²⁾ In most cases the negative expression is used for YHWH's condemnation of Israel's apostasy.

i. Sinful Israel.

v.5, Not His children (לא בניו)
v.6, Not wise (ולא חכם)
v.28, No understanding (ראין תבונה)
v.20, Children in whom is no faithfulness (לא אמון)

.../ "Rejoice with Him, O heavens,
and bow before Him, O sons of God!
Rejoice with His people, O nations,
and honour Him, all sons of God!"

cf. P.W.Skehan, "A Fragment of the Song of Moses (Dt.32) from Qumran", BASOR 136, 1954, pp. 12-15.

1) For the use of the negative לא in Dt.32, cf. Dt. 32:5, 17, 17, 17, 20, 21, 21, 30, 31, with ' לא ' : vv.6, 27; with ' הלא ' : vv.6, 34.

For the use of the negative אין : vv.28, 39, 39, 4, 12.

2) O.Eissfeldt, op. cit., p. 8.

M.J.Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea, B&AW 111, 1969, pp. 88-89.

ii. Apostasy of Israel.

- v.17, demons which were no gods, (לא אלה)
 gods they had never known, (לא ידעום)
 before whom your fathers had never shuddered (לא שערם)
 v.21, They have stirred Me to jealousy with 'No-god' (לא אל)
 They have provoked Me with their nothings (הבל)
 v.31, For their rock is not as our rock. (לא)

iii. YHWH's judgement.

- v.21b, So I will stir them to jealousy with 'no people'. (לא עם)

iv. YHWH himself.

- v.4, A god of faithfulness and without iniquity (אין ערל)
 v.39, And there is no god beside me (ואין אלהים)
 and there is none that can save from My hand (ואין)
 v.12, and there was no foreign god with Him (אין-אל)

Such negative expressions are, as we have seen, common in Jeremiah Ch.2.¹⁾ Even though we find such similarities between Deuteronomy 32 and Jeremiah ch.2, there are also differences: -

c. The differences.

i. Religious leaders.

In Deuteronomy 32 there is no criticism against the religious leaders.

Dt.32:7, "Ask your father, and he will show you
 your elders, and they will tell you."

On the contrary Jeremiah criticises the religious leaders

1) On the negative expression in Jeremiah ch.2, see further p.88f.

heavily (Jer. 2:8, 26). In Hosea criticism against the religious leaders occurs at Hos. 4:4-6; 5:1-2; 9:7-9. The non-occurrence of such criticism in Deut. 32 is a difference from the book of Hosea and Jeremiah.

ii. Editorial difference.

The Song of Moses (Dt. 32:1-43) is transmuted from 'the song' (שִׁירָה) into 'Torah' (תּוֹרָה Dt. 32:46) in the prose section which seems to be the result of Deuteronomistic editing.

The prophetic poetry in Jeremiah ch.2 is put into the framework of the 'autobiographical' prophetic editing - prophetization -.

2. The covenant-Rib form in Dt.32.

Recent studies have shed new light upon the Rib form in Dt.32. H.B.Huffman, J.Harvey, G.E.Wright and W.Beyerlin have contributed to the Rib-form study in relation to Dt.32.¹⁾

H.B.Huffman classifies Dt.32 as belonging to the covenant lawsuit type, which includes address to heaven and earth (v.1), covenant witnesses, and a historical prologue - the mighty acts of Yahweh (vv.6b-14), the indictment (vv.15-18), and then the sentence (vv.19-25).²⁾

-
- 1) H.B.Huffman, The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophet, JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-95.
 J.Harvey, Le Rib-Pattern, Bibl. 43, 1962, pp. 172-196.
 G.E.Wright, "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32" in Israel's Prophetic Heritage, 1962, pp.26-67.
 W.Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch", 1963, in Weiser-Festschrift Tradition und Situation, Göttingen, pp. 1-29.
- 2) H.B.Huffman, op. cit., p. 289.

J. Harvey has provided examples of parallel material in his work on the Rib-pattern. The study of this extrabiblical material together with biblical passages (Dt. 32, Is. 1, Mic. 6, Ps. 50, and Jer. 2) has led him to identify two major types of Rib passages in the Old Testament: the Rib of condemnation (Dt. 32, Jer. 2, Ps. 50) and the Rib of warning (Is. 1, Mic. 6). He analyses Dt. 32 as the Rib of condemnation.¹⁾

G.E. Wright examining the covenant lawsuit form in Dt. 32 found that the covenant lawsuit rests on the Mosaic covenant form for its legal basis.²⁾ He concluded that "Dt. 32 is a 'broken' Rib, or expanded Rib, that is a specific cultic form adapted and expanded by other themes to serve a more generalized purpose in confession and praise",³⁾ "being based on the covenant renewal form." He analyses the structure of Deuteronomy 32 as the form of the covenant lawsuit:⁴⁾

1) J. Harvey, op. cit., p. 178.

His analysis is in the following way: -

1. vv. 1-2 : Introduction (call to heaven and earth).
2. v. 6 : Interrogation (first implicit accusation).
3. vv. 7-18: Prosecutor's address to the court (declaration that the covenant is broken, recital of the gracious acts of Yahweh, and of Israel's ingratitude).
4. vv. 16-17: Reference to the vanity of cultic compensations or foreign cults.
5. vv. 19-25: Declaration of culpability and the menace of total destruction.

2) G.E. Wright, op. cit., p. 49.

3) G.E. Wright, op. cit., pp. 40-41.

4) G.E. Wright, op. cit., pp. 34-36, 52-53.

1. Introduction (vv. 1-6) : Call to the witnesses in heaven and earth (1-3) and introductory statement (4-6).
2. Kerygma: Appeal to the mighty acts of God (vv. 7-14).
3. Indictment (vv. 15-18).
4. The sentence or penalty (vv. 19-29). Here enemy action, fire that consumes the foundations of the mountains, /...

In the conclusion he states:

"The covenant-lawsuit theme, was a reformulation of the covenant-renewal theme. The reformulation took place in North Israel among those who had preserved the amphictyonic traditions."¹⁾

We must examine the covenant Rib form in Deuteronomy 32: -

1. Appeal to the heavens and earth.

v.1, "Give ear, O heavens, hearken, O earth."

2. Historical prologue - covenant history.

a. In the wilderness (במדבר).

v.10, "He found him in a desert land."

b. Poetic form of the salvation history based on Ex.19:4.

v.11, "Like an eagle that stirs up its nest,
that flutters over its young,
spreading out its wings, catching them,
bearing them on its pinions."

3. Interrogation - Rhetorical questions:

a. מה ? : v.20, "I will see 'What their end will be?'"

b. איפה ? : v.37, "Where are their gods?"

c. הא ? : v.6, "Do you thus requite YHWH?"

d. אולי ? : v.6, "Is not He your father, who created you?"

v.34, "Is not this laid up in store with Me?"

.../ famine, pestilence, and wild beasts - all are mixed together in a cosmic reaction against Israel for breach of covenant with Yahweh.

5. The poet's assurance of salvation (vv.30-38).

6. The word of Yahweh confirming the poet's words of hope, (vv.39-42).

7. The poet's final exhortation to praise (v.43).

1) G.E.Wright, op. cit., p. 65.

4. Accusation.

a. Covenant-breaking:

v.15, "He forsook God who made him." (נָטַש)v.18, "You forgot the God who gave you birth."

(וָתַשְׁכַּח)

b. Apostasy.

i. Ineffectiveness of Baal.

v.16, "Demons, (which were) no gods."v.21, "They have made Me jealous with no-god
they have vexed Me with their 'emptiness'."

ii. Baal-cult.

v.16, "They made Him jealous with strange (gods)."v.17, "They sacrificed to demons, (which were)
no gods."

5. YHWH's judgement.

a. YHWH's wrath : v.22 (אַפִּי).

b. Disaster : v.23 (רָעוּת).

c. Judgement : v.36 (דִּין), v.41 (מִשְׁפָּט).

d. In the image of a beast : v.24

B. The Book of Hosea.1. Literary Characteristics:Literary Link between Hosea and Jeremiah Chapter 2.

In his book Jeremiah published in 1888, Prof. T.K.Cheyne pointed out the close link between Jeremiah ch.2 and Hosea, in particular, Hosea 2:15.¹⁾ S.R.Driver, J.Skinner, A.C.Welch,

1) T.K.Cheyne, Jeremiah: His Life and Times, London, 1888, pp. 26, 29. "That Jeremiah was fond of Hosea's book is certain; /...

N.W.Porteous, J.Muilenburg, K.Gross, G.von Rad, O.Eissfeldt, G.Fohrer, G.W.Anderson have noticed Jeremiah's dependence upon Hosea, in particular, in Jeremiah ch.2.¹⁾

.../ the touching words which open chap.2 are closely parallel to a passage in Hosea (2:15). A happy instinct guided him; he felt himself allied in genius to the elder prophet; and he must have noticed how similar his own circumstances were to those of Hosea."

- 1) S.R.Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p. 96.

The quotation from his book is mentioned above.

J.Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, Cambridge, 1922, (1963), pp. 60-73.

"Strictly speaking, perhaps, this (characterising the popular religion of Israel as a worship of Baal under the guise of worship of Yahweh) applies only to Hosea and Jeremiah, the two prophets who after Elijah emphasize the contrast between the ethical religion of prophecy and the nature-worship into which the popular religion had degenerated." (pp. 60-61).

"In this idealisation of the desert religion of Israel Jeremiah again follows Hosea (Hos. 9:10, 11:1)." (p. 64).

A.C.Welch, Jeremiah, His Time and His Work, Oxford, 1928, 1955, pp. 180-194.

He explained that Jeremiah and Hosea stood on Yahwism:

"Jeremiah was using Hosea's favourite figure." (p. 181).

"Hosea and Jeremiah saw one sin, the fruitful mother of many: the people knew not Yahweh, they had forsaken Yahweh." (p.185).

"It was this steel core in Yahwism, the demand that men must submit to the claim of their God." (p. 187).

N.W.Porteous, Living the Mystery, Oxford, 1967, pp. 44, 135.

"The Old Testament and Some Theological Thought-Forms", pp. 31-46.

He refers to Jeremiah as "his (Hosea's) best interpreter." (p. 44).

"Actualization and the Prophetic Criticism of the Cult", pp. 127-141. "The prophet Jeremiah, who was the spiritual successor of Hosea" (p. 135, cf. p. 118).

He adds moreover, "We can readily understand the influence of Hosea's prophecies upon the young Jeremiah." (pp. 135-6).

J.Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenantal Formulations", VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365.

He suggests that, "More important is the generally accepted view of the relationship of Deuteronomic covenantal traditions to the Elohist and Deuteronomy with Hosea and Jeremiah." (p. 349).

K.Gross, /...

There are some terminologies¹⁾ and literary characteristics common to Hosea and Jeremiah ch.2: a. repetition and parallelism, b. word-play.

.../ "Hoseas Einfluss auf Jeremias Anschauungen", NKZ 17, 1931, pp. 241-255, pp. 327-343.

He expounds Hosea's influence upon Jeremiah with abundant evidence, under these subjects: I. Gottes Gedanke, II. Das Wesen der Religion, III. Das Wesen der Sünde, IV. Busse, V. Die Heilsschatologie.

G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.2, ET. London, 1965.

"In his early years Jeremiah was dependent on Hosea. This dependence extends even to his choice of words, and far transcends what was traditional among the prophets, which was at most a dependence in subject matter. This forces us to assume that Jeremiah had close contacts with Hosea's disciples, and possibly even that he had a thorough knowledge of the writing which Hosea left behind. And, as we have already seen, Hosea stood exclusively within the Israelite tradition." p.192.

O.Bissfeldt, The Old Testament. An Introduction, (ET), p. 358.

"They (Jer.2) reveal the marked dependence of Jeremiah upon older prophets, in the first place upon Hosea." p. 358.

G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 402, London, 1970.

"Like Hosea, whose powerful influence he shows, particularly in his first period."

G.W.Anderson, A Critical Introduction to the Old Testament, p. 145.

"At all events, the book of Jeremiah makes it clear that, whether by written or oral transmission, the teaching of Hosea was still a vital force in prophetic circles at the end of the following century."

Most of the commentaries on Jeremiah mention the close link between Hosea and Jeremiah, in particular in Jeremiah ch.2.

1) On "Terminology common to Hosea and Jeremiah ch.2.", see further, p. 257f., 269f.

a. Repetition and Parallelism.

Frequent occurrence of repetition is also common to Jeremiah¹⁾
and the book of Hosea.

- Hos. 3:4, "Without king and without prince, without sacrifice
and without pillar, without ephod and without
teraphim." (אֵין).
- 4:1, "For there is no faithfulness, and no loyalty,
and no knowledge of God in the land." (אֵין)
- 5:14, "I, even I will rend and go away." (אֲנִי) - cf. Hos. 14:9
- 4:16, "Like a stubborn calf, Israel is stubborn." (סָרָרָה)
cf. Jer. 6:28.
- 5:3, "I know Ephraim, and Israel is not hid from Me,
for now O Ephraim, Israel is defiled."
- 2:4, "Plead with your mother, plead!" (רִיב)
- 7:8, "Ephraim is blended among the peoples,
Ephraim is a cake not turned."
- 9:7, "The days of punishment have come,
the days of recompense have come." (בָּאוּ יְמֵי)
- 9:14, "Give them, YHWH,
what will you give?"
Give them a miscarrying womb." (תֵּן)
- 10:15, "Because of the evilness of your evil - " (רָעַת)
- 11:10, "He will roar like a lion, (יִשָּׁאֵן)
for he will roar, and his son will come trembling,
they will come trembling." (יִחַדְדוּ)
- 13:6, "As they were fed, they became full, (שָׂבַע)
they became full and lifted their hearts."
- 13:14, "From Sheol (שְׁאוֹל) I will ransom them,
from death (מָוֶת) I will redeem them,
I will be your plague, O death (מָוֶת)
I will be your sickness, O Sheol." (שְׁאוֹל).

1) On "Repetition in Jeremiah Ch.2", see further pp. 73ff.

14:2-3, "Return, Israel to YHWH your God (שׁוּבוּ)
Take with your words, and return to YHWH.

b. Word play.

J.L.Mays refers to the word play in Hosea as follows: -

"He was also skilled in formulating and using word plays; correspondence of sound spelling and meaning of words juxtaposed within a saying is a rather regular feature of his style."¹⁾

W.Rudolph and J.M.Buss also point out the word play in Hosea.²⁾

We must examine the similarities of word play in Hosea and Jeremiah ch.2.

i. Word play on 'Ephraim'.

פֵּרוֹת (fruit) Hos. 9:16; 14:9 (10:1, 13). Jer. 2:7.

Hos. 9:16, Ephraim is stricken, - they shall bear no fruit.

14:9, O Ephraim, what have I still to do with idols?
- from Me your fruit is found.

אֶפְרַיִם (wild ass) Hos. 8:9; Jer. 2:24.

Hos. 8:9, a wild ass wandering alone,
Ephraim has hired lovers.

Jeremiah also used 'wild ass' as an image for Israel.

ii. Positive and negative contrast.

Hos. 2:25, "Pity and not-pitied" (רַחֵם / רַחֲמָה :
2:3, 1:6, 8).

1) J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL, London, p. 7.

2) W.Rudolph, Hosea, KAT, p. 21f. All the examples of word play in Hosea are gathered here in a full list.

M.J.Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea, p. 39.

"My people" and "not-My-people"

(לא-עמי / עמי : cf. 2:3; 1:9; 2:1).

Jer. 2:11, "God" and "not-god" (לא-אלהים / אלהים).

iii. Word play by repetition.

Hos. 9:11, "Like a bird, their Glory flies away" .

(יתעופף / עוף).

10:12, "Till your untilled ground." (ניר / נירר):

Jer. 4:3).

This phrase is used in Jeremiah 4:3.¹⁾

Hos. 2:8, "I will fence up her fence". (גדרה / גדרתי)

2:13, "I will bring to rest all her joy, -
and her sabbath." (שבתה / השבתי).

Such word plays are common to Hosea and Jeremiah.²⁾

c. Similarity in thought between Hosea and Jer.Ch.2.

Some thoughts such as 'marriage image', 'vine image' and apostasy are common to Hosea and Jeremiah ch. 2.

i. The marriage image of the relationship between YHWH and Israel.

Jer. 2:2, "I remember of you the loyalty (חסד) of your
youth (נעוריך)
the love of your bridal days."

Hos. 2:17, "And there she shall answer as in the days of
her youth (נעוריה)."

Hos. 2:21, "And I will betroth you to me for ever.
I will betroth you to me - in loyalty." (חסד)³⁾

1) BDB.

2) On "Word play" in Jer.Ch.2, see pp. 76-77.

3) N.H.Snaith, Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament, London, 1944, (1962), On "the Covenant Love of God", pp. 94-130. A.R.Johnson suggests as the translation of hesedh 'devotion' (N.W.Porteous, op. cit., p. 54).

This refers to the faithful covenant relationship existing in Israel's youth.

ii. The usage of זלזל : Harlotry-motif.¹⁾

Jer.2:20, "You bow down and commit harlotry." (זלזל)

Hos.2:7, "For their mother has played the harlot." (זלזל)

Hos. 1:2, 2; 4:12, 15: 9:1; etc.

iii. The vine image²⁾ (Jer. 2:21).

The vine image as a description of degeneration is common to Hosea, Jeremiah and Dt. 32.

Hos.10:1, "A luxuriant vine is Israel, fruit he produces.

(זלזל)

The more his fruit grows, the more altars he builds,
the better his land becomes,
the better he makes his pillars."

iv. Israel's apostasy-image.

Changing the Glory.³⁾

Hos.4:7, "I will change their Glory into shame."

Jer.2:11, "My people has changed his Glory."

Two sins of Israel.

Hos.10:10, "I chastise them for their two iniquities."
(שתי לשתי).

Jer.2:13, "Two evils have My people done." (שתיים רעות)

1) cf. J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL, p. 38.

See further, p.285-287. (The worship of Baal-Peor and the harlotry-motif.)

2) The vine, used as an image of Israel in Hos.10:1, is a traditional symbol of the nation (Israel) (Ps.80:9, Jer.2:21). - M.J.Buss, op. cit., p. 112. See p. 260.

3) C.D.Ginsburg, Introduction to the Masoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible, London, 1897, p. 352. 'The Emendations of the Sopherim' (Jer.2:11; Hos.4:7; Ps.106:20). See further, p.10.

Baal worship.¹⁾

Hos.4:13, Upon the tops of the mountains they
sacrifice - (על-הגבעות)

under the oak and the poplar and the
terebinth - (תחת אלון)

Jer.2:20, Upon every high-hill (על-גבעה) and
under every green tree - (תחת)

34b, under every oak (LXX) (אלה).

Apostasy of Israel (backsliding: משונה) cf. Jer. 2:19.

Hos.11:7, My people are bent on backsliding from me.
(למשונתי).

14:5, I will heal their apostasy. (משונתם).

v. Against the leaders.

Another similarity between Hosea and Jeremiah ch.2 is the criticism against the religious leaders, which is not found in Dt. 32.

Hos.4:4-6, With you is my contention (Rib), O priest,
You shall stumble by day,
the prophet also shall stumble with you by
night.
I reject you from being a priest to Me.

9:7, The prophet is a fool.

4:9, But people and priest shall be treated alike,
I will punish them for their conduct,
and repay them for their deeds.

10:5, Its idolatrous priests shall wail over it,
over its glory which has departed from it.

Jer.2:8,
26b, The priests - the prophets.

1) cf. W.L.Holladay, "On Every High Hill and Under Every Green Tree", VT 11, 1961, pp. 170-176.

d. Negative expressions in Hosea.

One of the characteristics common to Dt.32, Hosea and Jeremiah ch.2 is the negative expression.¹⁾ There are many negative expressions with 'not' (לֹא, אֵין)²⁾ in the book of Hosea.

The negative expression is used in the prophet's radical criticism of the real state of apostasy of Israel, proclaiming the ineffectiveness of idols and the unfaithfulness of Israel.

The ineffective gods which are the objects of Israel's apostasy.

2:12, "And no one will save her from my hand."

(לֹא-יִצִילֶנָּה) cf. 5:14.

8:6, "A workman made it - it is not God." (לֹא אֱלֹהִים).

Symbolical name for sinful Israel.

1:9; 2:1; 2:25, "not My people" (לֹא עַמִּי).

1:6, 8; 2:25, "not-pitied" (לֹא רַחֲמָה).

The breaking of the covenant relation expressed in the marriage image.

2:4, "She is not my wife (לֹא אִשְׁתִּי) and
I am not her husband (לֹא אִישָׁהּ)."

1) See further, pp. 88f., 204-5.

2) For the usage of the negative ' לֹא '

Hos. 1:6, 6, 8, 7, 9, 9, 9; 2:1, 1, 1, 4, 4, 6, 8, 9, 9, 10, 12, 18, 19, 25, 25; 3:3, 3; 4:10, 10, 14, 14; 5:3, 4, 4, 6, 14, 13, 13; 6:6; 7:10, 16, 14, 9, 9; 8:4, 5, 6, 13, 4; 9:2, 4, 4, 4, 17, 15; 10:3; 11:4, 7, 9, 9, 9; 12:9; 14:4, 4, 4.

For the usage of the negative ' אֵין '

Hos. 3:4, 4, 4, 4, 4; 4:1, 1, 1; 5:14; 8:8; 10:3.

' לֹא ' - Hos. 4:4, 4; 4:15, 15, 15, 15; 9:1, 1.

The sin and unfaithfulness of Israel.

- 4:1, "No faithfulness, and no loyalty,
and no knowledge of God. (יִשְׁכָּח).
- 5:4, They (Israel) do not know YHWH (cf. Hos. 2:10, 11:4).
- 5:4, Their deeds do not allow them
to return to their God.
- 4:14, A people of no understanding.
- 13:13, An unwise son (cf. Dt. 32:6).
- 7:10, They (Israel) do not return to YHWH their God,
do not seek Him.
- 7:14, They did not cry to Me from their heart.
- 9:3, They shall not remain in the land of YHWH.
- 9:17, They did not listen to Him.
- 9:4, They will not pour out wine to YHWH,
they will not bring Him sacrifices.
- 10:3, We fear not YHWH."

YHWH's act against sinful Israel as judgement.

- 2:4, "Upon her children also I will have no pity.
- 11:7, No one will reinstate them.
- 2:12, No one will save her from my hand. (לֹא יַצִּילֶנָּה).
- 5:14, I will carry off, and no one will rescue."
(אֵין מַצִּיל) - Ps. 50:22.

YHWH's imperative in negative form.

- 4:15, "Let not Judah become guilty, (אַל-)
Enter not into Gilgal, (אַל-)
nor go up to Beth-aven. (אַל-)
and swear not. (אַל-)
- 9:1, Rejoice not, O Israel.
Exult not like the peoples!
- 4:4, Let no one contend, (אַל-יִרֶב)
and none accuse!" (וְאֶל-יִכַח).

2. The Covenant-Rib Form in the Book of Hosea.

Recent studies shed new light upon the Rib form in Hosea, not only in its form, but also in ~~its~~ content and its background.

H.W.Wolff, H.B.Huffman, C.Westermann, K.Koch, D.J.McCarthy, J.L.

Mays, W.Rudolph have drawn attention to the Rib form in Hosea and in particular W.Bruggemann, M.J.Buss, E.M.Good have contributed to the study of the Rib form in Hosea.¹⁾

1) H.W.Wolff, Hosea, BK, 1965, pp. 39, 82f., 93f.

H.B.Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-95. He draws attention to Hos. 4:1-3 as 'covenant lawsuit' which is related to a breach of covenant.

C.Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, London, 1967, p. 199. He provides a list of the 'lawsuit speeches' (Gerichtsreden) including Hos. 2:4-17, 4:1-3, 4-6, 5:3-15.

K.Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, London, 1969, p. 220, n.21. He notes: "The few extant prophetic lawsuits have been placed by the redactors at the beginning of the prophetic books: Is. 1:2f., Jer. 2:4-12, Hos. 2:4-15, 4:1-10 etc." p.220.

D.J.McCarthy, "Hosea", JBC., p. 253f.

He writes concerning the Rib form: "It is little wonder that the prophet (Hosea) favors the form of a judgment (Rib)." p. 254.

- "Covenant in the Old Testament: The Present State of Inquiry", CBQ 27, 1965, pp. 217-240, p. 231.

J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL., London, 1969, pp. 6, 37, 38, 62, 67, 162. He comments: "He (Hosea) uses the announcement of a 'complaint' (Rib, 2:2, 4:1, 4, 12:2) frequently enough to suggest that in many other cases the style of his message of judgment may be drawn from forms used in legal proceedings in the court in the gates." (p.6).

W.Rudolph, Hosea, KAT, 1966, p. 64.

W.Bruggemann, Tradition for Crisis, - A Study in Hosea, Richmond, 1968.

M.J.Buss, The Prophetic Word of Hosea, BZAW 111, Berlin, 1969.

E.M.Good, "Hosea 5:8-6:6", An Alternative to Alt, JBL 85, 1966, pp. 273-286.

a. The term Rib.

In the book of Hosea the term Rib occurs 7 times (2:4; 4:1, 4, 4; 12:3; 5:13; 10:6).¹⁾ Characteristics of the Rib in Hosea are: -

- a) YHWH's Rib: 4:1, "YHWH has a Rib". (12:3)
4:4, "Against you is My Rib, O priest."²⁾
- b) with preposition ' כַּ ':
4:1, 12:3 : "YHWH has a Rib against -".
with preposition ' כַּ ' : 2:4 "Make a Rib against -".³⁾
- c) Rib with reference to a human subject.
5:13, 10:6 : "To a king who will make a Rib."⁴⁾
4:4 : "Let no one make a Rib."

1) Lisowsky, pp. 1332-1333.

2) MT. is different from LXX.

LXX: 4:4 ὁ δὲ λαός μου ὡς ἀντιλεγόμενος ἱερεὺς.

3) cf. J.Limburg, "The Root Rib and the Prophetic Lawsuit Speeches", JBL 88, 1969, pp. 291-304.

He pointed out that "each of these verb-preposition combinations (with כַּ and כַּ) has the sense "complaint against".

J.L.Mays, op. cit., p. 62.

4) A.V. translates: 'to King Jareb' (5:13, 10:6).

A.Alt proposes to read ' מלך ירב ' a great king (מלכי ירב).

R.SV and NEB translate: 'to the great king', 'to the Great King'.

E.M.Good, op. cit., p. 276.

He proposes to read it in the sense of Rib and translates 'to a king who will contend (Rib)'.

b. The Prophetic Rib Form in Hosea.

It is likely that chs.4-11 and 12-14 form two collections.¹⁾
Each begins with an oracle which contains a Rib (YHWH has a Rib 4:1, 12:3) and each ends on a relatively hopeful note (11:1-11, 14:1-8). Ch.2 also opens in the same way (with a Rib theme, 2:4) and ends with the oracle of a new restoration (salvation oracle, 2:18-25). Let us examine the covenant Rib form in Hosea which is paralleled in Jeremiah Ch.2.

1. Call to the witnesses.²⁾

4:1, "Hear the word of YHWH, O people of Israel."

2. Historical prologue - the mighty acts of YHWH.³⁾

a) Exodus (הַעֲלֵה) formula

12:13, "By a prophet YHWH brought Israel from Egypt."

b) In the wilderness, (בַּמִּדְבָּר).

9:10, "Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel."

11:3, "It was I who carried them in My arms."

13:5, "It was I who knew you in the wilderness."

(LXX: "It was I who pastured you in the wilderness.")

3. Interrogation: Rhetorical questions.

1) J.L.Mays, Hosea, OTL, 1969.

"The book falls into two easily recognized sections which are distinct in size and plan. The first is chs.1-3. - The second section, chs.4-14 (contains) two sub-sections, chs.4-11 and 12-14." pp. 15-16.

M.H.Buss, op. cit., p. 33.

2) G.E.Wright, "The Lawsuit of God," in IPH, p. 52.

"Call to the witnesses to give ear to the proceedings. Where these are not 'heaven and earth' but Israel herself, the prophet may begin by calling Israel to hear Yahweh's word."

a) מָה ? : Hos. 6:4, 4; 9:5, 14; 10:3; 14:9.

6:4, "What shall I do with you, O Ephraim?
What shall I do with you, O Judah?"

9:5, "What will you do for the festal day?"

14:9, "O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols?"

b) הַיָּא ? : Hos. 11:8,8.

11:8, "How can I give you up, O Ephraim?
How can I make you like Admah?"

4. Accusation.

a) Covenant-breaking.

i. To forsake YHWH (לָזַל).

4:10, "They have forsaken YHWH."

ii. To forget YHWH (נָשַׁח).

2:15, "She forgot Me." cf. 13:6.

8:14, "Israel has forgotten his Maker."

iii. To rebel (מָרַד).

7:13, "They have rebelled against Me."

iv. To break the covenant (נָקַד).

8:1, "They have broken My covenant."

b) Three-fold sphere.

i. The cultic sphere: Baal-cult. (2:15; 4:10;

12-13; 17-18; 9:10; 11:2).

2:15, "I will punish her all the days of the Baals
when she sacrificed to them,
and went after her lovers."

11:2, "To the Baals they sacrifice,
and to the idols they burn offerings."

9:10, "They came to Baal-peor,
and consecrated themselves to Shame." (Baal)

4:17, "Ephraim is joined to idols."

18, "They love shame more than their glory."

ii. The legal sphere.

Torah: (תּוֹרָה Hos. 4:6; 8:1, 12).

4:6, "You have forgotten the Torah of your God."

8:1, "They have revolted against My Torah."

Decalogue: (Ex. 20:7, 16, 13, 15, 14).

4:2, "Cursing, lying, killing, stealing, adultery -."

iii. The international sphere.

7:11, "Ephraim is like a dove, silly and without sense,
calling to Egypt, going to Assyria."

5. YHWH's judgement.

a) YHWH's wrath (אַף).

8:5, "My anger (אַף) burns against them."

14:5, "My anger (אַף) has turned from them."

b) YHWH's judgement (מִשְׁפָּט).

5:1, "For the judgement pertains to you."

c) YHWH's discipline (מַכּוֹת).

5:2, "I will chastise all of them."

d) In the image of a lion.

5:14, "I will be like a lion to Ephraim,
like a young lion to the house of Judah.
I, even I will rend."

C. The Asaph-Psalms.

1. The Literary Characteristics.

S.R.Driver suggested the link between Dt.32, Hosea 2, Jeremiah 2, and Psalms 106 in their thought, style of composition and style

of treatment as a historical retrospect: in particular, in their common presentation of 'prophetic thoughts in a poetical dress'.¹⁾

A.Bentzen discusses the Song of Moses (Dt.32) in relation to Pss. 78, 106, 50, 81 and 95, saying that these belong to the same category as a versified penitential address from a circle of cultic prophets, a type which is the presupposition of the prose sermons and prophetic exhortations: -

"Original paraenetic oracles like Pss. 95, 81, and 50 were probably joined to rites by which the covenant between YHWH and Israel was renewed. Prophetic paraenetic speeches like Ps.50 etc. probably belonged to rites of the renewal of the covenant."²⁾

O.Eissfeldt points to common features in Dt.32 and Ps.78 both in form and content: similar introductions, similar historical retrospect, and similar paraenetic tone throughout.³⁾

H.B.Huffman also discusses the 'covenant lawsuit' in relation to Dt.32, Jer.2, Hos.4:1-3, Ps.50 and Mic.6:4-5, distinguishing this from the 'divine council lawsuit'.⁴⁾

J.Harvey distinguishes the Rib of condemnation (Dt.32, Jer.2,

- 1) S.R.Driver, Introduction to the Literature of the O.T., Edinburgh, 1912, p. 96.
- 2) A.Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol.I, 1948, p. 160.
- 3) O.Eissfeldt, Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes, Berlin, 1958.
- 4) H.B.Huffman, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets," JBL 78, 1959, pp. 285-295.

Ps.50) from the Rib of warning (Is.1, Mic.6).¹⁾

G.von Rad points out that Psalm 50 contains "a cultic ritual of similar kind to that presupposed by the Sinai narrative".²⁾

These Psalms belong to the so-called 'Asaph Psalms'. Let us examine the relation between the Asaph Psalms and Jeremiah ch.2.

a. The Asaph Psalms.³⁾

With the development of form criticism it is now possible to recognize the function and meaning of the Asaph Psalms more adequately. Yet the form-critical tradition has tended to ignore the name in the titles which are preserved in the Bible.

Twelve Psalms (Pss. 50 and 73-83) are attributed to Asaph by their traditional title⁴⁾ and some more Psalms (96, 105-106) are linked to Asaph through I Chron. 16:7-36.

1) J.Harvey, "Le Rib Pattern," Bibl. 43, 1962, pp. 172-96.

2) G.von Rad, "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch", in The Problem of the Hexateuch, ET., London, 1965, p. 22.

3) On Asaph-Psalm :

A.F.Kirkpatrick, The Book of Psalms, Camb.B. (II-III), pp. 276, 427f.

I.Engnell, "The Book of Psalms", in Critical Essays on the Old Testament, ET., London, 1970, pp. 68-122.

M.J.Buss, "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah," JBL 82, 1963, pp. 382-392.

F.N.Jasper, "Early Israelite Traditions and the Psalter," VT 17, 1967, pp. 50-9.

4) The twelve psalms (Ps. 50 and 73-83) have the Hebrew ' ל ' (לַאֲסָפִי) being ascribed to Asaph.

I.Engnell, op. cit., p. 79. He explained: "In this case, ' ל ' means 'of', even though its real meaning may be 'belonging to' (the Asaph collection)."

1. Asaph.

Chronicles preserves the Asaph-tradition. Asaph was one of David's three chief musicians. Along with Heman and Ethan he was selected by the Levites to lead the music when David brought up the Ark to Jerusalem (I Chron. 15:16-19). He was appointed by David to preside over the services of praise and thanksgiving in the tent where the Ark was placed (I Chron. 16:4-7, 37). In later times Asaph was ranked with David as the author of sacred songs, and along with Heman and Jeduthun, he bore the title of "the king's seer" (2 Chr. 29:30; I Chr. 25:5; 2 Chr. 35:15).¹⁾

The 'sons of Asaph', that is the Levitical family or guild of his descendants, are further mentioned in the reign of Jehoshaphat (2 Chr.20:14), in connexion with Hezekiah's reformation (29:13), and as taking part in the Passover celebrated by Josiah (35:15).

In 2 Kings 18:18, 37 the son of Asaph 'Joah' was the recorder (המזכיר = Is. 36:3, 22) in the reign of Hezekiah.

ii. Characteristics of the Asaph-Psalms.

In his commentary A.F.Kirkpatrick pointed out the distinctive characteristics of the Asaph-Psalms. They are distinguished by their prophetic character:²⁾

1. Like the prophets, they represent God as the Judge.
2. As in the prophets, God Himself is frequently introduced as the speaker.

1) A.F.Kirkpatrick, op. cit., p. 427.

2) A.F.Kirkpatrick, op. cit., pp. 428-430.

3. The didactic use of history is also a prophetic feature. Frequent references are made to the ancient history of Israel.
4. It is another feature that the relation of Yahweh to Israel is expressed by the figure of the shepherd and his flock. It recalls Yahweh's guidance of His people through the wilderness.
5. The combinations of Jacob and Joseph, Joseph and Israel which indicate the reunion of Israel and the ultimate reunion of the nation. Such Asaph-Psalms are almost entirely national Psalms, of intercession, thanksgiving, warning, and instruction.

I. Engnell mentioned other characteristics of the Asaph Psalms:¹⁾

1. They originated in North Israel, although it is obvious that they have been re-interpreted in a Jerusalemite spirit.
2. In the Asaph Psalms the idea of God is quite typically connected with His role in Israel's history.
3. They are prophetic, emotional, - almost passionate.
4. They are predominantly National Psalms of Lamentation.
5. The idea of the covenant is quite prominent in them.

The Asaph Psalms fall into certain clear categories from a form-critical point of view: -

1) I. Engnell, op. cit., pp. 79-80.

1. Lament of the community: 74, 79, 80, 83, 106.
2. Historical Psalms (Legend): 78, 105, 106.
3. Prophetic Psalms: 50, 75, 81, 82.

There are some terminologies¹⁾ and literary characteristics common to the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah ch.2: - i) prophetic preaching in I-thou style and parallelism and repetition, ii) negative expressions²⁾ and rhetorical questions.³⁾

b. I-Thou Style, and
Parallelism and Repetition.

The prophetic Psalms-of-Asaph (Ps. 50 and 81) contain particular passages written in I-Thou Style, the so-called 'proclaiming or preaching style'.

i. Divine-I address. I (YHWH) and thou (Israel).

a) To the faithful: -

Ps.50:7, "Hear, O My people, and I will speak,
O Israel, I will testify against you (ךָ).
YHWH, your God am I." (אֲנִי)

8, "Not for your sacrifices do I reprove you,
nor for your burnt offerings that are ever
before Me."

9, "I will accept no bull from your village,
nor he-goat from your folds."

10, "For (כִּי) every beast of the forest is Mine."
(לִי)

12, "If I were hungry, I would not tell you (ךָ).
For (כִּי) the world and all that is in it
is Mine." (לִי).

1) On "Terminology common to the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah ch.2, see further, p. 257f., 269f.

2) On "Negative expressions", see further, pp. 88f., 229f.

3) On "Rhetorical questions", see further, pp. 93f., 233f., 265f.

15, "I will deliver you, and you shall glorify Me."

b) To the wicked: -

Ps.50:21b, "I will rebuke you and lay the charge before you."

ii. Divine-Me address. Thou (Israel) and Me (YHWH).

To the wicked: -

Ps.50:17, "You (אַתָּה) hate discipline,
and you cast My words behind you."

21, "You thought that 'I-AM' (אֲנִי) was one
like yourself."

iii. Divine imperative.

a) To the faithful: -

Ps.50:14, "Offer to God a sacrifice of thanksgiving,
and pay your vows to the Most High,
and call upon Me in the day of trouble."

b) To the wicked: -

Ps.50:22, "Think well on this, You who forget God,
lest I rend, and there be none to save."

c. Negative expression in the Asaph-Psalms.

One of the characteristics common to Dt.32, Hosea, Jeremiah
and the Asaph-Psalms is a negative usage with 'not' (אֵין , אֵל).¹⁾

1) With ' אֵין '

Ps.50:22; 73:4; 74:9.

With ' אֵל '

Ps.74:19, 19, 21, 23; 75:5, 5, 6; 83:2; 50:3; 79:8.

With ' אֵל '

Ps.50:8, 9; 73:5, 55; 74:9, 9; 75:7, 7; 76:6; 77:5, 8, 20;
78:4, 7, 8, 8, 8, 10, 22, 22, 30, 32, 37, 38, 38, 42, 50, 53,
56, 63, 64, 67; 79:6, 6; 80:19; 81:6, 10, 10, 12, 12; 82:5,
5; 83:5.

a) The sin and unfaithfulness of Israel.

The particular usage of the negative expression in this sense occurs very frequently in the 'historical Psalms' (Ps. 78 and 106).

Ps.78:8, "A generation whose heart was not steadfast,
whose spirit was not faithful to God."

37, "Their heart was not steadfast toward Him,
they were not faithful to His covenant.

10,
56 "They did not keep God's covenant,
they did not keep the commands of the Most High."

22, "They had no faith in God,
and did not trust his saving power."

32, "They had no faith in His wonderful acts."

30, "Yet they did not abandon their lust."
(Jer. 2:24b - lust) - 106:14.

42, "They did not remember His power."

Ps.106:

7, "Our fathers in Egypt took no account of Thy marvels,
they did not remember Thy many acts of faithful
love."

13, "They did not wait for His counsel."

24, "They had no faith in His promise."

25, "They did not obey the voice of YHWH."

Ps. 81:

12, "My people did not obey My voice.
Israel would have none of Me."

Ps.82:5, "They have neither knowledge
nor understanding."

b) YHWH's commandment in negative form.

Ps.81:10, "There shall be no strange god among you,
you shall not bow down to a foreign god."

These sentences bear a similarity to the first and second

commandments (Ex. 20:3, 5).

c) YHWH's judgement against Israel.

Ps.50:22, "Think well on this, you who forget God,
lest I rend and there be none to deliver you."

This is similar to Hos. 5:14 (רֹאִין מַצִּיל).

d) Opposing the sacrificial cult.

Ps.50:8, "Not for your sacrifices do I reprove you,
nor for your burnt offerings that are ever before
Me."

9, "I will accept no bull from your village,
nor he-goat from your folds."

2. The Covenant Rib Form in the Asaph-Psalms.

Recent form-critical studies shed new light on the Rib-form
in Asaph Psalm 50.

H.Gunkel classified Ps.50 as a particular form of 'propheti-
scher Gerichtsrede'.¹⁾

A.Bentzen refers to 'prophetic paraenetic speeches (oracles)
like Ps.50, 81 and 95', and then he calls them 'prophetic liturgy'
which belongs to the rites of the renewal of the covenant.²⁾

A.Weiser³⁾ classifies Psalm 50 as the 'Liturgy' which in his

1) H.Gunkel-J.Begrich, Einleitung in die Psalmen, Göttingen, 1933,
p. 364.

2) A.Bentzen, Introduction to the O.T., Copenhagen, 1948, Vol.I,
pp. 100-1.

3) A.Weiser, The Psalms, ET. OTL, 1962, p. 393.

sense belongs as a constituent part of the Israelite Covenant Festival.¹⁾

E. Würthwein found allusion to the original place of the 'Anklagerede' (Rib-form Hos. 4:1f., 12:3f., Is. 3:13f., Mic. 6:1f., Jer. 2:5f., 25:30f., Mal. 3:5) in a group of Psalms in which Jahweh appears as Judge (Ps. 50:1-7, 76:8-10 etc.).²⁾

R.E. Murphy classifies Ps. 50 as 'a prophetic liturgy',³⁾ following H. Gunkel and A. Weiser.

H.-J. Kraus called Ps. 50 a 'prophetische Gerichtsliturgie'.⁴⁾

M. Dahood also calls it 'a prophetic liturgy of Divine Judgment'.⁵⁾

Asaph Psalm 50 has the covenant Rib form as its literary type, and the prophetic proclamation which is based on the covenant renewal festival⁶⁾ as its 'Sitz im Leben'.

Let us examine the Rib form in the Asaph-Psalms.

1) *ibid.*, p. 35.

2) E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede," *ZThK* 49, 1952, pp. 1-16, p. 6.

3) R.E. Murphy, *JBC*, p. 585.

4) H.-J. Kraus, *Psalmen*, I, BK, p. 372.

5) M. Dahood, *Psalms I*, *AncB.*, p. 305.

6) G.W. Anderson, *Peake's C.*, p. 423. He suggests that "It (Ps. 50) is probably best understood as associated with the cultic renewal of the covenant, the implications of which are made plain in oracles uttered by a prophet or prophets attached to the sanctuary."

1. Appeal to the heavens and earth, and Israel.

50:4, "He calls to the heavens above
and to the earth."

7, "Hear, O My people, and I will speak.
O Israel, I will testify against you."

81:9, "Hear, O My people, while I admonish you.
O Israel, if you would but listen to Me."

2. Historical prologue: the mighty acts of YHWH.

a. Exodus, (העלה formula).

81:11, "I am YHWH, your God,
who brought you up (המעלה) out of the
land of Egypt."

b. In the wilderness (במדבר).

106:9, "He led them (וילליתם) through the deep
as through the wilderness (במדבר)."

c. Entry into the land (נטע formula).

80:9, "Thou plantedst (רתטעה) it (vine)

3. Interrogation: Rhetorical questions¹⁾ in YHWH's address.

a. מה ?

50:16, "What right have you to do to recite My statutes?"

b. איפה ?

79:10, "Where is their God?"

1) In the Asaph Psalms:

Ps. 73:10, 11, 19, 25; 74:1, 9, 10, 11; 77:10, 8, 14; 78:19,
21, 40; 79:5, 10; 80:5, 13; 82:2; 50:13, 16; 106:2.

Their forms may be classified as follows: -

- מי ? - 73:10, 25; 77:14; 106:2.
למה ? - 74:1, 11; 80:13;
מה ? - 50:16.
עד-מה ? - 74:9; 79:5. (עד-מתי? - 74:10; 80:5; 82:2).
ה ? - 77:10, 8; 78:19, 20; 50:13.
איפה ? - 79:10.
איך ? - 73:19, (איכה? - 73:11).
כמה ? - 78:40.

c. ה ?

50:13, "Do I eat (האוכל) the flesh of bulls?"

d. למה ?

79:10, "Why should the nations say - ?"

80:13, "Why then hast thou broken down its walls?"

4. Accusation.

a. Covenant-Breaking.

i. To forget YHWH (שכח).

50:22, "You who forget God." (שכחתי).

106:21, "They forgot God, their Saviour." (שכחו).

ii. Not to hear My voice (לא-שמע).

81:12, "My people did not listen to My voice."

106:25, "They did not obey the voice of YHWH."

b. Three-fold sphere.

i. The cultic sphere. (cf. Ps. 106:19-20, 28, 36, 39).

50:9, "I will accept no bull from your village,
nor he-goat from your folds."

106:19, "They made a calf in Horeb
and worshipped a molten image."

20, "They changed their Glory
for the image of an ox that eats grass."

This is the same idea as Jer. 2:11; Hos. 4:7.

28, "Then they attached themselves to the Baal of
Peor
and ate sacrifices offered to the dead."
(Hos. 9:10).

36, "They served their idols, (עֲצָב : Hos.4:17,
8:4 etc.)
which became a snare to them."

37, "They sacrificed their sons and their daughters
to the demons." (שָׁדִיִּים : Dt. 32:17).

106:38, "whom they sacrificed to the idols of Canaan
and the land was polluted with blood."

39, "Thus they were defiled by their acts
(Jer. 2:7b) (וַיִּטְמָאוּ).

and played the harlot in their doings."
(Jer. 2:20b) (וַיִּזְנוּ).

ii. The legal sphere: breaking the decalogue.

50:18, "When you see a thief (לָשֹׁן), you associate
with him
and with adulterers (זָנָיִם), you keep company."

These indicate the violation of the 8th and 7th
commandments.

19, "You give your mouth free rein for evil (רָעָה)
and your tongue frames deceit."

20, "You sit and speak against your brother,
and you slander your own mother's son."

vv.18-20 indicate a breaking of the 7th, 8th and 9th
"words" of the Decalogue, and v.21 constitutes the conclus-
ion and climax of the rebuke.

106:38, "They shed innocent blood (דַּם בְּרִיָּה - Jer.2:34)
the blood of their sons and daughters."

iii. The international sphere:

106:35, "They mingled with the nations,
and learned to do as they did."

5. YHWH's judgement.

a. YHWH's wrath (אַף).

78:21, "His anger mounted against Israel."

106:40, "The anger of YHWH was kindled against His people."

b. YHWH's judgement (שפוט).

50:6, "For God Himself is judge." (שפוט)

82:1, "In the midst He holds judgement." (שפוט')

c. YHWH's discipline (מוסר).

50:17, "You hate discipline."

d. In the image of a lion.

50:22, "Lest I rend (אטרף : cf. Hos. 5:14)
and there be none to deliver."
(אין מוֹצִיל : Hos. 5:14).

D. Exodus 19:3-8

as 'Origo' of the Covenant Tradition.

The essential of Israel's covenant faith will be defined on the basis of Exodus 19:3-8.¹⁾ E.König characterized this small "Sinai pericope" as "die durchherrschende Dominante aller alt-testamentlichen Weissagungen".²⁾ A.Dillmann declared that

"Ex. 19:3-6 is the locus classicus of the O.T. on the nature and aim of the theocratic covenant."³⁾

J.Muilenburg also distinguished this passage as 'the fons et origo of the many covenantal pericopes which appear throughout the Old Testament.'⁴⁾

1) cf. N.C.Habel, Yahweh versus Baal, New York, 1964, p. 11.

2) E.König, Das alttestamentliche Prophetentum und die moderne Geschichtsforschung, 1910, p. 63f.

3) A.Dillmann, Exodus und Leviticus erklärt, 1880, (cited from S.R.Driver, The Book of Exodus, Camb-B., 1918, p. 169).

4) J.Muilenburg, "The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations", VT 9, 1959, pp. 347-365, p. 352.

Recent form critical studies have shed new light on the text and the importance of the Sinaitic covenant tradition.¹⁾

In this study we examine Exodus 19:3-8 as the origin of the covenant tradition upon which the literary style and covenant form in Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah Ch.2 partly depend.

1. Literary Characteristics.

a. Literary link.

The house of Jacob: v.3b (cf. Jer. 2:4).²⁾

Jacob and Israel in parallelism.³⁾ (cf. Jer. 2:4).

Ex. 19:3b, the house of Jacob - and the sons of Israel.

1) H.Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, Zürich, 1960.

K.Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, WMANT 4, Neukirchen, 1960.

G.von Rad, "Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch," in Gesammelte Studien zum A.T., München, 1958.

ET. "The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch," in the Problem of the Hexateuch and Other Essays, London, 1966.

W.Beyerlin, Herkunft und Geschichte der Ältesten Sinaitraditionen, Tübingen, 1961.

ET. Origins and History of the Oldest Sinaitic Traditions, Oxford, 1965.

M.L.Newman, The People of the Covenant, - A Study of Israel from Moses to the Monarchy - London, 1965.

L.Perlitt, Bundestheologie im Alten Testament, Neukirchen, 1969, WMANT 36, pp. 167-180.

2) Elsewhere in the O.T.: Gen. 46:27; 2 Sam. 3:29; Ps. 114:1; Is. 2:5; 8:17; 10:20; 14:1; 29:22; 48:1; 58:1; Ob. 17, 18; Mic. 2:7; Jer. 2:4; 5:20; Am. 3:13.

S.R.Driver, The Book of Exodus, Camb.B., 1911, p. 169.

As a name for the people of Israel as a whole this expression occurs nowhere else in the Pentateuch.

3) The house of Jacob and Israel: Is. 46:3; Jer. 2:4; Am. 9:8-9; Mic. 3:9 /...

Eagle's wings: v.4 (cf. Dt. 32:11).¹⁾

The same metaphor or image of the eagle who can carry its young on its mighty wings also occurs in the Song of Moses (Dt. 32:11), in the context of the covenant history.

I brought you to Me - in the לָאֵלֹהִים formula - v.4 (cf. Jer. 2:7).

The same word as designating the mighty act of YHWH is used in Jer. 2:7 with 'into the fruitful land'.

Now (וְעַתָּה) v.5a.

The traditional 'now' (עַתָּה) appears in many covenant contexts:²⁾ Josh. 24:14, 23; Hos. 12; 13:2; Jer. 2:18; I Sam. 12:7, 13, 17.

If you will diligently listen to My voice, v.5.

This is a characteristic phrase of Deuteronomy.³⁾ In the

.../Jacob - Israel in parallelism, elsewhere, Dt. 33:4, 5, 28; 32:8-9; Hos. 12:13; Asaph-Ps. 81:4; 78:5, 21, 71; 105:10, 23.

See further, Appendix A., pp. 270, 259.

1) M. Buber, Moses, London, 1946, pp. 101-109.

2) J. Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 355.

Form Criticism and Beyond, JBL 88, 1969, p. 15.

3) J. Bright, "Date of the prose sermons of Jeremiah," JBL 70, 1960, p. 35. He notes the occurrences of the phrase 'to obey (my) voice':

50 times in Dtr., 12 in JE, rare in later prophets (only Is. 50:10; Hag. 1:12; Zech. 6:15), Zeph. 3:2; 5 times in Ps., 1 in Prov. (5:13) 1 in Chr. (2 Chr. 30:27), 3 in Dan. (9:10, 11, 14).

3 times in Jer.'s poetry (3:13, 25; 22:21); 18 times in prose (7:23, 28; 9:12; 11:4, 7; 18:10; 26:13; 32:23; 35:8; 38:20; 40:3; 42:6, 6, 13, 21; 43:4, 7; 44:23).

S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, ICC, lxxviii.

He mentioned that this phrase is one of the most characteristic of Dt. /...

prophetic poetry (speech) 'Hear' (שָׁמַע) occurs in the imperative form. 'Hear the word of YHWH' (Jer. 2:4; Hos. 4:1; Dt. 32:1; Ps. 50:7; 81:9).- It is called 'Proclamation formula'.¹⁾

If - keep My covenant, v.5 שָׁמַר אֶת-בְּרִיתִי

The negative form of this phrase occurs in Ps. 78:10 "They did not keep God's covenant". In Deuteronomy YHWH is the subject of keeping covenant with Israel. (Dt. 7:9, 12; cf. I Ki. 8:23 - YHWH your God - keeps covenant.) The deuteronomic terminology is rather 'to keep my Torah', when Israel is subject.

In Jeremiah, the phrase is "Hear the word of this covenant" (Jer. 11:2, 3, 6 in prose).

Treasure (סִגְלָה) v.5b.

In Deuteronomy the word occurs with 'people': Dt. 7:6; 14:2; 26:18 (עַם סִגְלָה). In Dt. 7:6; 14:2 and Ps. 135 this term is connected with ' בְּחָר ' in the theological meaning of election. In Ex. 19:5 it occurs without ' בְּחָר '.

For all the earth is mine (כִּי-לִי כָל-הָאָרֶץ), v.5b.

Similar expressions occur in Ps. 24:1; 50:10, 12; 89:12²⁾

.../ H.Wildberger, Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, Zürich, 1960, p. 35. He points out that this is connected with the 'Sinaitradition' which we may find in Ex. 19:5; Josh. 24; Dt. 26:17-18.

1) cf. p. 119f. in this thesis. (Ch.III, Proclamation formula).

2) Ps. 24:1, The earth is YHWH's (לִיהוָה הָאָרֶץ).
Ps. 89:12, The heavens are thine, the earth also is thine.
(לֵךְ שָׁמַיִם אֶף-לֵךְ אֶרֶץ).

Some scholars have sought to explain it as an editorial reflection of a later age (e.g. H.Holzinger, Exodus KHC, p. 64, p.67). /...

(Lev. 25:23),

Ps.50:10, "For every beast of the forest is mine" (כִּי-לִי כָל)

12, "For the world and all that is in it is mine."
(כִּי-לִי)

Kingdom of priests, (מַמְלַכַּת כֹּהֲנִים), v.6a.

This ~~ex~~pression is unique in the Old Testament.¹⁾

A holy nation, (גֵּרִי קֹדֶשׁ), v.6.

In Jer. 2:3 a similar expression occurs:

Jer. 2:3, "Holy was Israel to YHWH."

In Deuteronomy this term is not found. The Deuteronomic terminology is rather 'a holy people' (עַם קֹדֶשׁ) : 7:6; 14:2, 21; 26:19; 28:9.²⁾ A similar expression occurs in Leviticus,³⁾ with the difference that here the accent is on the special meaning of "being sanctified from others".

b. Parallelism and Repetition.

Recent studies have paid attention to the parallelismus

.../ N.C.Habel, Yahweh versus Baal, New York, 1964, p. 19, p. 33, note 21. He assigns it to an older source.

"In addition to the fact that heroic gods of the ancient Near East made somewhat similar claims," p.19.

"Lord of heaven and earth, in Hammurabi Code, line 2, Prince, Lord of the Earth, Baal V. i. 3f." p.33, note 21.

- 1) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 355.
He points out that "a kingdom of priests" has no close parallel and is absent from Deuteronomy."
- 2) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 355.
- 3) Israel "Ye shall be holy" (Lev. 20:7, 19:2, 11:44 - קֹדֶשׁ)
Aaronic priests: they are holy to God, (21:6, 7). These are in parallel with " הִתְקַדַּשׁ " (BDB - keep oneself apart from unclean things, p. 873).

membrorum in this passage (Ex. 19:3-8).¹⁾

i. Parallelism.

- v.3, "You shall say to the house of Jacob
and speak to the sons of Israel."
- v.4, "You (אתם) have seen what I did to the Egyptians,
how I bore you (אתכם) on eagles' wings,
and I brought you (אתכם) to Myself."
- v.5, "Now if you will diligently listen to My voice
and keep My covenant
then you will be to me (לי) the treasure
- v.6, you (ואתם) will be to Me (לי) a kingdom of
priests
and a holy nation."

ii. Repetition.

a) Word repetition.

The sons of Israel (vv.3b, 6b.): In the opening and closing lines of the word of YHWH, the stress falls upon 'the sons of Israel'.

You (אתם) vv.4, 6. The first and last lines of the message are introduced by the emphatic second person pronoun.

"You", "to Me", and "all". Note the effective use of the two-fold ' אתכם ' (v.4, 4) and the three-fold 'to Me' (לי) vv.5, 5, 6. The emphatic particle 'all' (כל : vv.5, 5, 7, 8, 8).

b) Key-word. 'Word' is repeated throughout this passage. (דבר): words of YHWH : vv.6, 7, word of the people in v.8 and the verb 'to speak (דבר)' in 6, 8.

1) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 353.

c. Literary style.

In the Sinai pericope passage (Ex. 19:3-8) there may be distinguished two literary styles: one is the narrative form (19:3a, 7-8) and the other is the 'I and thou style' in poetry form (19:3b-6).

i. Dramatic framework in narrative form.

In this passage YHWH, Moses and the people (elders) appear, and the account of the communication that took place among them comprises the framework of the unit of Ex.19:3-8.

YHWH called to Moses, saying the words of YHWH (actio-dei).

Moses came down and called the elders of the people,

saying all these words of YHWH (actio-Moses).

All the people answered, saying 'we will do' (reactio) v.8a.

Moses reported the words of the people to YHWH.

YHWH - Mediator Moses - the people (elders).

'The words' (׀'ַׁׁׁ) take the key role in this drama

(covenantal drama):

the words of YHWH (4. 6), all these words of YHWH (v.7)

the words of the people, all that YHWH has spoken

we will do. (v.8).

ii. I-you style in poetry form.

The covenantal ~~message~~ is written in 'I and you' style.

In actio dei: 4

"You (׀ׁׁ) have seen what I did to Egyptians,
and how I bore you (׀ׁׁ) on eagles' wings,
and I brought you (׀ׁׁ) to Myself.
Now if you obey my voice

and keep my covenant
you will be my treasure among all peoples (לִי)
 For all the earth is Mine. (לִי)
You (אַתָּה) will be My kingdom of Priests, (לִי)
 and a holy nation."

J.Muilenburg called such a literary style the 'proclaiming or preaching style' in particular 'the covenant message'.¹⁾
 M.No²⁾ and W.Beyerlin³⁾ described it as reflecting the ceremonial character of the covenant-cult.

2. Covenant-Form of Ex.19:3-8.

Analysis of the structural form of the covenant 'Gattung' in the unit Exodus 19:3-8 has been attempted by J.Muilenburg, K.Baltzer and H.Wildberger.

a. J.Muilenburg defined the literary type of Exodus 19:3-6 as 'a special covenantal Gattung, and it is scarcely too much to say that it is in nuce the fons et origo of the many covenantal pericopes which appear throughout the Old Testament'.⁴⁾ He analyses the structure of the message as follows: -⁵⁾

- "i. Oracular opening (3b) - the messenger speech.
- ii. Proclamation of the mighty acts (4).
- iii. The covenant condition (5-6)
 Introductory 'and now'
 Demand for obedience - centre of the covenant relation.
 Three promises."

-
- 1) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 353.
 - 2) M.No²⁾, Exodus, OTL, ET, p. 157.
 - 3) W.Beyerlin, op. cit., pp. 70-71, 76. ET.
 - 4) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 352.
 - 5) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 354.

b. K.Baltzer analyses 'Das Bundesformular in der Sinaiperikope' (Exodus 19:3-8), finding the 'Elemente eines Bundesschluss-formulars' in comparison with the Hittite treaty-form.¹⁾

- "i. Die Vorgeschichte (4).
- ii. Die Grundsatzerklärung (5-6a).
- iii. Der wesentliche Bestandteil des Bundesschlusses Jahwes mit Israel (7-8) in comparison with Ex. 24:3-4a and v.7."

c. H.Wildberger divided the form-structure of Exod. 19:3-8 into the following five elements: -²⁾

- "i. Die Einleitungsformel (3b).
- ii. Die Vergegenwärtigung des Heilsgeschehens. (4)
 - a. Die Nachttat Jahwes an den Ägyptern.
 - b. Der gnädige Schutz in der Wüste.
 - c. Die Hinführung zu Jahwe.
- iii. Die Bedingung für die Gültigkeit der folgenden Zusage, eingeleitet mit ' וְעַתָּה '.
 - a. Das Hören auf Jahwes Stimme.
 - b. Das Halten des Bundes.
- iv. Die Erwählungszusage: 'Israel soll sein'
 - a. Jahwes Sondereigentum.
 - b. sein königlicher Herrschaftsbereich über Priester.
 - c. sein heiliges Volk.
- v. Die Verpflichtung des Volkes.
 - a. eine Mittelsperson (Mose) legt den Ältesten die göttlichen Worte vor.
 - b. Das Volk verspricht, sich ihnen entsprechend zu verhalten.
 - c. Die Mittelsperson überbringt Jahwe diese Antwort des Volkes."

In this analysis H.Wildberger made his own hypothesis: 'Exod. 19 is the proclamation of election' (Erwählungsproklamation).³⁾

1) K.Baltzer, op. cit., pp. 37-39.
 2) H.Wildberger, op. cit., pp. 14-15.
 3) H.Wildberger, op. cit., pp. 16, 17.

From this point of view he said: -

"Die Erwähnung des Bundes erst sekundär in die Erwählungsproklamation von Ex. 19 eingeschoben worden ist."¹⁾

The question arises here: Is this passage Ex. 19:3-8 'die Erwählungsproklamation' or 'origo of the covenant pericopes in the Old Testament'?

In the passage Ex. 19:3-8 'the covenant-thought' and covenant-structure are clearly described in the term 'covenant' (ברית) : v.5. The response of the people corresponds to the covenant condition:

v.5, "Now if you will listen to my voice,
and keep my covenant -

v.8, And all the people answered together and said,
'All that YHWH has spoken we will do.'

This is the covenant formulation. In the text there is no term signifying 'election' (בחר) itself, but rather 'pre-election-thought': you shall be my own possession among all people. We must conclude that this is a covenant passage, with the following basic elements: -²⁾

1) *ibid.*, pp. 36-37.

Extending his theory, he supposed that the election-proclamation of Ex. 19 has his own 'Sitz im Leben' in the 'Mazzenfest in Gilgal' (the feast of unleavened bread) which is different from the Sinai covenant tradition. p. 61.

2) cf. K. Sacon, "The Study on Exodus 19:3b-8", in SR. 6, Tokyo, 1969.

- I. YHWH's act and words. (3-6)
 - a. YHWH's calling to Moses (covenant-mediator) v.3a
 - b. YHWH's words (covenant-message) vv.3b-6
 1. Introductory speech form. v. 3b
 2. YHWH's mighty acts: covenant history (4)
 - in three-fold form.
 - i. Exodus.
 - ii. Protection in the wilderness.
 - iii. Guiding to YHWH.
 3. YHWH's covenant condition (5a)
 - i. Listen to YHWH's voice.
 - ii. Keep the covenant.
 4. YHWH's promise of blessing. vv. 5b-6
 - i. YHWH's possession.
 - ii. A kingdom of priests.
 - iii. A holy nation.
- II. The mediator's act. (v.7)
 - a. Moses' calling the elders (7a)
 - b. Moses' setting YHWH's words before the people.
- III. The people's response. (v.8)
 - a. All the people's response in three-fold form.
(cf. Ex. 24:3-4a, 7).
 - b. Moses reported the words of the people to YHWH.

NOTE I: On Ex.19:3-8.The Problem of the unit/units comprising
the passage (Ex.19:3-8).

There are different opinions about the extent of the unit/units contained in this passage. M.H.Bennett and G.von Rad regarded 4-6a as the basic unit, making the separation between 3 and v.4-6a.¹⁾ J.Muilenburg, however, regards vv.3-6 as a unit:

"The composition of Exod. 19:3-6 is so closely woven and the structure so apparent that the excision of any line of verse actually mars its unity and destroys its literary character."²⁾

S.R.Driver and M.Nothe made Ex. 19:3-9 the unit.³⁾ But v.9 is a particular passage concerned with the 'theophany' motif (in a thick cloud). McNeile and Stalker⁴⁾ like J.Muilenburg separate vv.3b-6 from vv.7-8.

W.Beyerlin insists that 19:3-8 is a unit and states: -

"There is not any reason to separate v.7 and 8. In view of 19:6b, 'kol haddebarim (כל הדיברים) in 19:7 must undoubtedly refer to the words of Yahweh in 19:3b. They were spoken by Yahweh 'out of the mountain', it is said.

- 1) M.H.Bennett, Exodus, Cent.B., Edinburgh, pp. 155, 157.
G.von Rad, op. cit., p. 40. (ET).
- 2) J.Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 351.
- 3) S.R.Driver, op. cit., p. 168 (vv.3b-9 to J.)
M.Nothe, op. cit., p. 154.
- 4) A.H.McNeile, The Book of Exodus, Westm.C., London, 1908.
D.M.G.Stalker, Exodus, Peake's C., London, p. 226.

According to this statement Yahweh is already on Sinai.
But this does not harmonise with what is said in verse
9 'lo, I am coming to you in a thick cloud'." 1)

The phrase 'to the sons of Israel' (vv.3b and 6b) marks the opening and the closing of the word of YHWH as 'the covenant message'. This may be a primitive small unit. But this covenant message is embodied in the narrative-form covenant-dramatic-framework, and the recurrent term 'words' ((ה)דבר'ים : vv.6, 7,8) binds vv.3-8 together as a distinct unit.

We conclude, therefore, that it seems reasonable to assume that 19:3-8 is a unit of the Sinai covenant tradition.²⁾

NOTE II: On Ex.19:3-8.

Problem of the literary source.

It is hard to define which source the text of Exodus 19:3-8 belongs to, so that some scholars have said that it is 'die groteske Form des Berichts'.³⁾ S.R.Driver and H.Gressmann tended to

1) W.Beyerlin, op. cit., ET., p. 6.

2) cf. W.Beyerlin, op. cit., p. 7.
H.Wildberger, op. cit., pp. 9-14.
K.Baltzer, op. cit., pp. 37-40.
L.Perlitt, op. cit., p. 169.
D.J.McCarthy, Treaty and Covenant, Rome 1963, p. 155, n. 6.
G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, ET., London, 1970, p. 189.

3) E.Auerbach, Moses, Amsterdam, 1953, p. 163.
L.Perlitt, op. cit., p. 167.

ascribe the passage to J.¹⁾ Some recent scholars tend to assign it in whole or in part to the Elohist, e.g. J. Muilenburg, W. Beyerlin.²⁾

G. Beer, A. H. McNeile, W. Rudolph, and M. Noth assign the passage to the Deuteronomic or Deuteronomistic redactor whilst recognizing a sub-stratum of the older sources in it.³⁾

- 1) S. R. Driver, The Book of Exodus, Camb. B., p. 168, (vv. 3b-9 to J.)

H. Gressmann, "Die Anfänge Israels", SAT (I), p. 2.

"Mose und seine Zeit", ERLANT, I, 1913, p. 108, n. 3.

- 2) J. Muilenburg, op. cit., p. 351. He strongly supports the ascription of the passage to E., saying: -
 "In general the tendency today is to assign it to the Elohist in whole or in part. (Note 4), It is doubtful whether the hand of the Deuteronomist is to be found anywhere in the Tetrateuch; the ~~line~~ which separates the literary style of the Elohist from the Deuteronomist is often hard to define."

W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Traditions, ET., p. 11.

"The unit of tradition Exod. 19:3b-8 could most easily belong to the E. source." pp. 11, 67.

- 3) G. Beer, Exodus, HAT, Tübingen, 1939, p. 12, 96.

A. H. McNeile, The Book of Exodus, Westm. C., London, 1908, xxv, xxvii, pp. 109-11.

"The words are a very beautiful expression of God's relations with His people, written by a religious thinker of the Deuteronomic school."

W. Rudolph, "Der Aufbau von Exodus 19-34", Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments, BZAW 66, 1936, Berlin, pp. 41-48.

"In Ex 19 sind zunächst v. 3b-8 auszuschneiden, eine spätere theologische Deutung der Ereignisse am Sinai mit stark deuteronomischem Klang und in gehobener Sprache." p. 41.

M. Noth, op. cit., p. 154.

"The section 19:3b-9a (9b) in particular looks like a later addition. This passage, formulated in ceremonial language remarkable in the brief narrative style of the older sources: it contains deuteronomistic phrases, particularly in v. 5 and with the surrounding material represents a later addition."

G.Fohrer presents another opinion: -

"Exod. 19:3b-8 is a short independent section in the Sinai narrative, belonging to none of the source strata."¹⁾

"Exodus 19:3b-8 belongs to neither the Jahwist nor the Elohist source, nor the oldest liturgical formula, but by the description in v.6a ('goy', 'mamlaka') it originates from the priestly circle in Jerusalem which was influenced by the Deuteronomist and lived in the tradition of later Holiness-code."²⁾

G.Fohrer's position is similar to that of W.Staerk and

C.F.Whitley. Their opinions are based on their understanding of Ex. 19:6a:

"The idea of Israel as 'a holy nation' (Ex. 19:6a) is basic to the Holiness Code (e.g. Lev. 19:2; 20:7, 24, 26)."³⁾

"Ex. 19:5b-6a stands on the same line with Lev. 26 in its contents, where the concept of Holiness is combined with the election-belief."⁴⁾

But we may draw a distinction between Ex. 19:5b-6a and Lev. 20:26. In Lev. 20:26 the basic component of the idea of 'Holy' (קדש) is 'to separate from' (הבדיל)⁵⁾ which is the Levitical expression of 'election' as separation from other peoples.

In Ex. 19:3-8 there is no term expressing 'separation' (הבדיל), but the simple statement 'you shall be my own possession among all

1) G.Fohrer, Introduction to the Old Testament, London, 1970, ET., p. 189.

2) G.Fohrer, "Priesterliches Königtum Ex. 19:6", ThZ 19, 1963, p. 362.

3) C.F.Whitley, The Prophetic Achievement, London, 1963, p. 29.

4) W.Staerk, "Zum alttestamentlichen Erwählungsglauben", ZAW 55, 1937, p. 8f.

5) Hiphil of ' בדל ' (הבדיל) Lev.1:17, 20:26, 24, 25, 25, 10:10.

peoples' (5b). The passage may be called 'pre-levitical'.

Now from this literary analysis we may conclude that Exodus 19:3-8 is a special tradition which may be pre-deuteronomic and pre-levitical, and which preserves the older sources on the Sinai-covenant tradition, upon which Deuteronomy 32¹⁾, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah ch.2 partly stood.

E. Judges 2:1-5 (6:8-10, 10:11-15) as
'origo' of the covenant Rib.

Judges 2:1-5, 6:8-10, and 10:11-15 preserve the covenant-Rib passages in the prophetic speech form.²⁾ We must analyse the literary style and form of these passages to find out the relation to Jeremiah ch.2.

1. Literary Characteristics.

a. Similarity of terminology between Jud. 2:1-5 and Jer.ch.2.

Jud.10:13, "You have forsaken Me."³⁾ (עָזַבְתֶּם).

1) G.Fohrer, op. cit., (Introduction to the Old Testament, ET, pp. 186-189.

He distinguishes Ex. 19:3-8 and Deut.32 as special passages which do not belong to the Source Strata.

2) W.Beyerlin, Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch, in Tradition und Situation, Festschrift-A.Weiser, pp. 1-29.

He pointed to the passages Jud. 10:11b-14 and 6:8b-10 as accounts of the 'Bundesbruch-Rib'. p. 27f.

3) The phrase "You (or they) (Israel) have forsaken Me (YHWH) (עָזַבְתֶּם)" occurs elsewhere: Jer. 1:16; 2:13, 17, 19; 5:7, 19; Jer. 16:11, 11; 19:4; Hos. 4:10; Jud. 2:12, 13; 10:10, 13, 6; (Dt. 31:16; I Ki. 11:33; 2 Ki. 22:17; 2 Chr. 12:5).

This is parallel with Jer. 2:13, 17, 19, in having particular reference to Israel's breaking the covenant with YHWH.

Jud.10:14, "Let them deliver you in the time of your distress."

This is very similar to Jer. 2:28.

Jud.2:1b, "I brought you up from Egypt, (אֶעֱלֶה)
brought you into the land - ." (אֶבְיֵא).

The combination of Exodus- (הֶעֱלָה) and Entry- (הֵבִיא) terminology in the description of the mighty acts of YHWH occurs in the Rib-form passage Jer. 2:6a-7.

b. Negative expressions with ' לֹא '.

Covenantal prohibition.

Jud.2:2, "You shall make no (לֹא) covenant with the inhabitants of this land."

This corresponds to the terminology of the ritual Decalogue (Ex. 34:11-26, especially v.12) or Ex. 23:32 (the book of covenant).

Jud.6:10, "Fear not (לֹא) the gods of the Amorites -."

YHWH's promise.

Jud.2:1b, "I will never (לֹא) break My covenant with you."

Sinful Israel's breaking of the covenant.

Jud.2:2b, "You have not (לֹא) obeyed My voice."
(= Jud. 6:10; cf. Ps. 106:25) ¹⁾

1) The terminology elsewhere: (They or you (Israel) have not obeyed My voice), Jud. 2:20; Jer. 3:13; 9:13; 22:21. (the voice of YHWH: I Sam.28:18; Jer.40:3; 43:4,7; Dan. 9:14).

This corresponds to the covenant condition in Ex. 19:5a.

YHWH's judgement.

Jud.2:3a, "I will not (לֹא) drive them out before you."

Jud.10:13b., "Therefore (לְכֵן) I will deliver you no (לֹא) more."

c. I and you style.

The prophetic speech form in Jud. 2:1b-3, 6:8b-10, 10:10-14 is written in 'I (YHWH) and you (Israel) style'.

Jud.2:1b, "I brought you (אתכם) up from Egypt, brought you (אתכם) into the land - I will never break My covenant with you (אתכם)."

v.2, "and you (אתם) shall make no covenant with the inhabitants - you shall break down their altars. But you have not obeyed My voice."

v.3, "I will not drive them out before you." (מפניכם)

Jud.6:8b, "I (אני) led you (אתכם) up from Egypt, and brought you (אתכם) out of the house of bondage

9, and delivered you (אתכם) from the hand of all -

and gave you (לכם) their land.

10, And I said to you 'I (אני) am YHWH your God.'"

Jud.10:11-12,

"Did not - I deliver you (אתכם)?"

13, "Yet you (אתם) have forsaken Me (איתי). Therefore I will deliver you (אתכם) no more."

2. The Covenant Rib Form in Jud. 2:1-5.

a. The covenant Rib form in Jud. 2:1-5.¹⁾

We must analyse the structure of the covenant Rib in Jud.2:1-5.

1) cf. p. 362f.

Introduction.

v. 1a, "Now the angel (מלאך) of YHWH went up from Gilgal to Bochim ¹⁾ and he said."

Historical prologue.

v. 1b, "I brought (אָנֹכִי) you up from Egypt, and brought (אָנֹכִי) you into the land which I swore to give to your fathers."

Covenantal promise.

v. 1, "I will never break My covenant with you."

Prohibition (Covenant Condition).

v. 2, "You shall make no covenant with the inhabitants - you shall break down their altars." ²⁾

Interrogation: Rhetorical questions.

' מָה ' : Jud. 2:2b, "What is this you have done?"

This is very similar to Jer. 2:23 (What you have done?)

' אֲלֵךְ ' : Jud. 10:11-12, "Did not - I deliver you?"

cf. Jer. 2:17.

Israel's sin - breaking of the covenant -

v. 2, "You have not obeyed My voice."

Condemnation - covenant-cursing.

v. 3, "Then I say, 'I will not drive them out before you, but they shall become adversaries to you, and their gods shall be a snare to you.'"

1) LXX: ἐπὶ τὸν κλαυθμῶνα καὶ ἐπὶ Βαιθὴλ καὶ ἐπὶ τὸν οἶκον Ἰσραὴλ.
(to the place of weeping, and to Bethel, and to the house of Israel.)

2) LXX. Addition in LXX or omission in MT.
τὰ γλυπτὰ αὐτῶν συντρίψετε.
(ye shall destroy their graven images.)

In this passage, though the actual word 'Rib' (רִיב) does not occur, the Rib-theme is present, and the covenant relation between YHWH and the people of Israel is emphasized. The main sin of Israel is the breaking of the covenant.

It is remarkable that the historical prologue which contains Exodus (הַעֲלֵה) and Entry (כָּלֵךְ) has the same terminologies as Jeremiah ch.2 (vv.6a-7).

b. 'Sitz im Leben' of the covenant Rib in Jud. 2:1-5.

The "setting in life" of the covenant Rib is the assembly of the sacral community when "all the people of Israel", v.4, gathered at Bochim (Bethel). The reference to the people's weeping and sacrificing to YHWH (vv.4-5) would seem to indicate that the setting is the penitential service on the day of fast or fast rite (cf. Jud. 20:26, 21:2-4).

i. Bochim(Bethel).

The passage Jud. 2:1-5 is an aetiological narrative giving the popular explanation of the place-name Bochim (weepers), possibly 'the oak of weeping near Bethel' (Gen. 35:8). Bethel seems to be associated with ritual mourning (Jud. 20:26, 21:2) or a fast-rite (Jud. 20:26). It is explained as originating in the dismay of the Israelites at the rebuke of YHWH, a theme suggested by the pattern of God's Rib (contention) with His people and would suggest that at one phase in its history, Bethel was the sanctuary of the sacral confederacy.¹⁾

1) J.Gray, Joshua, Judges and Ruth, NewCent.B., 1967, pp.253-4.

ii. Jacob- and Bethel tradition.¹⁾

Jacob tradition has the close link with Bethel tradition.

Gen. 28:19, "He (Jacob) called the name of that place Bethel (בֵּית-אֵל)."

Gen. 31:11-13, "Then the angel (מַלְאָךְ) of God said to me in the dream, 'Jacob', - I am the God of Bethel."

iii. Comprehensive description in Hos. 12:3-5.

Rib of YHWH, Jacob, Bochim (weeping) and Bethel are all linked up in Hos. 12:3-5.²⁾

The appearance of YHWH's messenger is related to the place of Bethel (house of God) and aetiological concern ~~with Bochim~~ with Bochim (weepers). Bethel indicates the place where the people of Israel wept (נָדָד). The messenger of YHWH appeared in Bethel to bring forth the message of YHWH's Rib and then the people of Israel wept and were penitent.

1) See further, p. 289f.

2) See further, p. 291.

II. Terminology and Covenant Rib form common to Deut.32, Hosea, Jer.2, and the Asaph-Psalms

A. Terminology common to Deut.32, Hosea, Jer.2 and the Asaph-Psalms

Some words and expressions are common to Deut.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah Ch.2. Several terms among them occur rarely in the Old Testament.

1. YHWH

a. "Living" God (חיים)

Dt.32:40, As I (YHWH) live for ever. (חי)

Hos.2:1, It shall be said to them "Sons of the living God." (אל-חי)

4:15, As YHWH lives. (חי-יהוה)

Jer.2:13, The fountain of living water. (חיים)

b. "The wrath" (אף) in the sense of the wrath of YHWH.

Dt.32:22, A fire is kindled by My anger. (באפי)

Hos.14:5, For My anger has turned away from them.
(כי שר אפי ממנו)

Jer.2:35, Surely His anger is turned away from me.
(אך עב אפר ממני)

Ps.106:40, Then the anger (אף) of YHWH was kindled against His people.

c. "Judge" (משפט) indicating "YHWH is Judge" and YHWH's judgement.

Dt.32:41, My hand shall seize in judgement. (במשפט)

Hos.5:1, For the judgement pertains to you. (המשפט)

Jer.2:35 Behold, I will bring you to judgement. (נשפט)

Ps.50:6, For God Himself is Judge. (משפט : Ps.75:8)

d. "Discipline" (מוסר) as YHWH's discipline upon Israel.

Hos.5:2, - I will chastise all of them. (מוסר)

Jer.2:30, In vain I smote your children,
they took no discipline. (מוסר)

Ps.50:17, For you hate discipline, (מוסר)
and you cast My words behind you.

This word occurs only once in the Psalms.

2. Other gods. Some designations occur to indicate other gods.

a. "Strange (gods)" (זרים)

Dt.32:16, "They stirred Him to jealousy with strange (gods)." (בזרים)

Jer.2:25, "I loved strangers and after them I will go." (זרים)

Ps.81:10, "There shall be no strange god among you, (אל-זר)
you shall not bow down to a foreign god."

b. "No-god" (לא אלהים): other gods are 'Not god.'

Dt.32:17, "They sacrificed to demons which were no gods." (לא אלה)

Hos.8:6, "a workman made it - it is not God." (ולא אלהים)

Jer.2:11, "Has ever a nation changed its gods,
though they are not God." (לא אלהים)

c. "Emptiness" (ההבל) in the sense of idolatry.

Dt.32:21, "They have stirred me to Jealousy with 'No-God' (בלא-אל)
with their idols." (בהבליהם)

Jer.2:5, "They followed Emptiness." (ההבל)

d. "Baals" (הבעלים)

Hos.2:15, "I will punish her for the feast days of the Baals." (הבעלים)

10, "It was I who gave her - gold,
which they used for Baal." (לבעל)

Jer.2:23 "How can you say, 'I am not defiled,
after Baals I have not gone'?" (הבעלים)

e. "Lovers" (מאהבה) in the sense of apostasy.

Hos.2:9, "She shall pursue her lovers -," (מאהביה)
She shall seek them." (ובקשתם)

Jer.2:33, "How well you direct your way,
to seek for lovers." (לבקש מאהבה)

a. "My people" (עַמִּי): for Israel, indicating "people of God."

Dt.32:43, "Praise His people, (עַמִּי) O you nations:
for He - will purge the land of His people." (עַמִּי)

Hos.2:3, "Say to your brother, 'My people'" (עַמִּי)

25, "I will say to 'Not-My-People', 'You are My people.'" (עַמִּי-אֵתָהּ)

Jer.2:11, "My people (עַמִּי) have changed His Glory for No-Profit,

13, "Two evils have My people (עַמִּי) done:"

Ps.50:4, "He calls to the earth, that He may judge His people." (עַמִּי)

7, "Hear, O My people, (עַמִּי) I will speak."

81:9, "Hear, O My people." (עַמִּי)

12, "My people (עַמִּי) did not listen to My voice."

14 "O that My people (עַמִּי) would listen to Me."

b. "Jacob and Israel" in parallelism.¹⁾

Ex.19:3, "Thus you shall say to the house of Jacob,
and tell the people of Israel."

Dt.32:8-9, "the sons of Israel (MT)²⁾
For YHWH's portion is His people,
Jacob his allotted heritage."

Hos.12:13, "Jacob fled to the land of Aram
there Israel did service for a wife."

Jer.2:4, "Hear the word of YHWH, O house of Jacob,
- the house of Israel."

Ps.81:5, "For it is a statute for Israel,
an ordinance of the God of Jacob."

78:5, "He established a testimony in Jacob,
and appointed a law in Israel."

21, "a fire was kindled against Jacob,
his anger mounted against Israel."

71, "to be the shepherd of Jacob His people,
of Israel His inheritance."

105:10, "which he confirmed to Jacob as a statute,
to Israel as an everlasting covenant."

1) In Hosea the parallelism of Israel and Ephraim is common.

2) LXX. Dt.32:8, ἀγγέλων θεοῦ.

9, λαὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰακώβ - Ἰσραήλ.

c. "Vine" (גפן) for the designation of Israel.¹⁾

- Dt.32:32, "For their vine comes from the vine of ²Sodom." (גפן)
 Hos.10:1 "Israel is a luxuriant vine that yields its fruit." (גפן)
 Jer.2:21, "Yet I planted you as a Sorek vine,
 But how are you turned into - a strange wild vine."
 (הגפן)
 Ps.80:9, "Thou (YHWH) didst bring a vine out of Egypt." (גפן)
 15, "Look down from heaven, and see;
 have regard for this vine." (גפן)

d. "Generation" (דור) in the sense of "crooked generation of Israel."¹⁾

- Dt.32:5, "They are a perverse and crooked generation." (דור)
 20, "For they are a perverse generation, (דור)
 children in whom is no faithfulness."
 Jer.2:31, "See the word of YHWH, you O Generation!" (הדור)
 Ps.78:8,8, "A stubborn and rebellious generation, (דור)
 a generation whose heart was not steadfast, (דור)
 whose spirit was not faithful to God."

e. "(Your) fathers" (אבותיכם) in the sense of Israel's ancestor.

- Dt.32:17, "They sacrificed to demons,
 to new gods whom your fathers (אבותיכם) had never
 dreaded."
 Hos.9:10, "Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel,
 Like the first fruit on the fig tree, I saw your fathers."
 (אבותיכם)
 Jer.2:5, "What iniquity did your fathers find in Me?" (אבותיכם)
 Ps.106:6, "Both we and our fathers have sinned." (אבותינו)
 7, "Our fathers, when they were in Egypt," (אבותינו)
 Ps.78:3,8,12,57.

1) The vine, used as an image of Israel, is a traditional designation of the nation (Israel) (Hos.10:1, Ps.80:9, Jer.2:21).

cf. M.J. Buss, op.cit., p.112.

4. Apostasy

a. "Harlotry" (זִנָּה) in the sense of apostasy.

YHWH has Rib (רִיב) because of Israel's apostasy in committing harlotry with Baal. (Hos.2:4)

Hos.2:4, "Plead with (רִיב) your mother, plead - (רִיב) that she put away her harlotry from her face." (זִנָּה)

In Hosea this expression of harlotry (זִנָּה) occurs very often:

(1:2,2 2:4,6,6, 3:3, 4:12,15, 5:3-4, 6:10, 9:1).

Jer.2:20, "then you bow down and commit harlotry." (זִנָּה)

Ps.106:39, "they played the harlot in their doings." (רִיזְזוּ)

b. "Go after" (הִלֵּךְ אַחֲרַי) in the sense of apostasy.

Hos.2:7, "I will go after my lovers." (אֵלֶכָה אַחֲרַי)

15, "when she went after her lovers -." (וַתֵּלֶךְ אַחֲרַי)

Jer.2:25, "I loved strangers and after them I will go." (וְאַחֲרֵיהֶם אֵלֶךְ)

c. "Seek for (lovers)" (בִּקֵּשׁ) in the sense of apostasy.

Hos.2:9, "she shall seek them (lovers) (וּבִקְשָׁתָם) but shall not find them."

Jer.2:33, "What good will it do your way, to seek for lovers." (לִבְקֹשׁ)

d. "Change the Glory for other" (הִמְיִר כְּבוֹד ב).¹⁾

Ps.106:20, "They changed their Glory for the image of an ox." (וַיִּמְיְרוּ אֶת-כְּבוֹדָם)

Jer.2:11, "My people have changed His Glory for No-Profit." (הִמְיִר כְּבוֹדוֹ)

cf. Hos.4:7, "I will change their glory into shame." (כְּבוֹדָם אֲמִיר)

1) On the Scribal correction: see further, p.10, 39, 180. ✓

5. Some words which are rare in the Old Testament.

a. "Shudder with horror" (שָׁעַר)¹⁾

Dt.32:17, new gods whom your fathers had never dreaded. (שָׁעַרָם)

Jer.2:12, Be appalled, O heavens, at this
shudder. (שָׁעַרָה)

Ps.50:3, And round about Him (there is a) mighty shuddering.²⁾
(נִשְׁעָרָה)

b. "Go about" (הִלָּךְ): this verb is very rare in the Old Testament.³⁾

Dt.32:36, when he sees that their power is gone. (הִלָּךְ)

Jér.2:36, Why do you go about so much? (תִּהְלֵךְ)

c. "to roam" (הִלָּךְ)

The Qal form of this verb occurs only twice in the Old Testament.

Hos.12:1, But Judah still roams with God. (הִלָּךְ)⁴⁾

Jer.2:31, Why do My people say, "we roam -?" (הִלָּכְנוּ)

1) BDB שָׁעַר: vb. bristle with horror, Ez.27:35, 32:10, Jer.2:12, Dt.32:17.

BDB mentions only 4 passages with this sense in the O.T. (p.972).

S.R. Driver, Deuteronomy, ICC, p.363:-

"Shuddered not (Dt.32:18): an uncommon word (Jer.2:12, Ez.27:35, 32:10) perhaps denoting here a superstitious horror or dread."

2) N.H. Snaith, Hymns of the Temple, London, 1951, p.93.

He notes "It is customary to assume that the Hebrew word has to do with the intensity and violence of the storm-wind, but it is better to understand it in the sense 'bristle with horror,' as in Ezekiel 27:35, and 32:10, and probably also Dt.32:17."

3) BDB. הִלָּךְ: vb. go (mostly in poems), Dt.32:36, Job.14:11, Jer.2:36, 1.Sam.9:7, Pro.20:14, Pu.pt.Ez.27:19.

4) cf. J.L. Mays, Hosea, O.T.L., p.159.

B. The Covenant-Rib Form and its Contents

The Covenant-Rib form and its contents are common to Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms (Ps.78, 80, 81, 106) and Jeremiah Ch.2.

1. Appeal to the heavens (and earth): Call to the witnesses.

Dt.32:1, Give ear, O heavens (הַשָּׁמַיִם), and I shall speak,
and hearken, O earth (הָאָרֶץ), to the words.

Hos.4:1, Hear the word of YHWH, O people of Israel.

Ps.50:4, He calls to the heavens (הַשָּׁמַיִם) above,
and to the earth. (הָאָרֶץ)

v.7, Hear, O My people, and I will speak,
O Israel I will testify against you.

81:9, Hear, O My people, while I admonish you!
O Israel, if you would but listen to Me!

Jer.2:12, Be appalled, O heavens (שָׁמַיִם) at this!

2. Historical prologue - the mighty acts of YHWH.

a. Exodus. ("העלה" formula)¹⁾

Ex.19:4, You have seen what I did to the Egyptians.

Jud.2:1, I brought (אָעֵלָה) you up from Egypt.

Hos.13:4, I am YHWH your God from the land of Egypt. (12:9)

12:13, By a prophet YHWH brought (הָעֵלָה) Israel from Egypt.

Ps.81:11, I am YHWH, your God,
who brought you up (הָמַעֲלָךְ) out of the land of Egypt.

Jer.2:6, Where is YHWH,
who brought (הָמַעֲלָה) us out of the land of Egypt?

1) See further, p. 353-356.

b. In the wilderness (במדבר).

Dt.32:10, He found him in a desert land. (בארץ מדבר)

Hos.9:10, Like grapes in the wilderness (במדבר)
I found Israel.

13:5, It was I who knew you in the wilderness (במדבר)

Ps.106:9 He led them (יוליכם) through the deep,
as through the wilderness. (כמדבר)

Jer.2:6, YHWH who led us (המוליך) in the wilderness. (במדבר)

c. Entry into the land. (הביא and נטע formulae)

Ex.19:4, I brought (ואבא) you to Myself.

Jud.2:1 and (i) brought (ואביא) you into the land.

Jer.2:7, I brought (ואביא) you into a fruitful land.

Ps.80:9, Thou plantedst (תטעה) it (vine).

Jer.2:21, I planted you (נטעתיך) as a Sorek vine.

3. Interrogation: Rhetorical questions in YHWH's address.¹⁾

a. מה ?

Dt.32:20, I will see what (מה) their end will be.

Hos.6:4 What (מה) shall I do with you, O Ephraim?

What (מה) shall I do with you, O Judah?

9:5, What (מה) will you do for the festal day?

14:9, O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols? (מה-לי ל)

Jer.2:5, What (מה) iniquity did your fathers find in Me?

v.23, Know what (מה) you have done!

v.18, Now what hast thou to do in the way of Egypt -
what hast thou to do in the way of Assyria? (מה-לך ל)

Ps.50:16, What-hast thou to do to recite My statutes? (מה-לך ל)

Jud.2:2, What (מה) is this you have done?

b. אי ?

Dt.32:37, Where are their gods? (אי)

v.38, Let them rise up (יקומו) and help you!

Jer.2:28, Where (אי) are your gods which you made for yourself?
Let them rise up (יקומו), if they can save you!

2:6,8, Where is YHWH? (אי)

Ps.79:10, Where is their God? (אי)

c. ה ?

Dt.32:6, Do you thus requite YHWH? (ה)

Jer.2:11, Has ever a nation changed its gods? (ההימיר)

v.32, Can a maid forget her ornament -? (התשכח)

Ps.50:13, Do I eat (האכל) the flesh of bulls,
or drink the blood of goats?

1) Concerning 'Rhetorical questions of Jer.ch.2', See further p.

d. הלא ?

Dt.32:6, Is not He your father, who created you? (הלא)

v.34, Is not this laid up in store with Me? (הלא)

Jer.2:17, Is it not this you have brought upon yourself? (הלא)¹⁾

Jud.10:11, Did I not deliver you from the Egyptians? (הלא)

e. איך ?

Hos.11:8 How can I give you up O Ephraim? (איך)
How can I make you like Admah? (איך)

Jer.2:21 How (איך) are you turned into bitterness,
 a strange wild vine?

f. למה ?

Jer.2:29, Why (למה) do you dispute with Me? cf.Ex.17:2.

Ps.80:13, Why (למה) then hast thou broken down its walls?

79:10, Why (למה) should the nations say?

1) J. Muilenburg, "The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah " in TUOT,
 p.52.

4. Accusation.

a. Covenant-Breaking.

i. To forsake YHWH (עזב)

(Dt.32:15b, he forsook God who made him. (נטש))

Hos.4:10, because they have forsaken YHWH. (עזבו)

Jer.2:13, For they have forsaken Me. (עזבו)

v.17, 19, you have forsaken YHWH your God. (עזבו)

Jud.10:13, Yet you have forsaken Me. (עזבתם)

ii. To forget YHWH (שכח)

Dt.32:18, you forgot the God who gave you birth. (ותשכח)

Hos.2:15, she forgot Me. (שכח) cf.13:6.

8:14, For Israel has forgotten his Maker. (וישכח)

Jer.2:32, My people have forgotten Me. (שכחוני)

Ps.50:22, you who forget God. (שכחי)

106:21 They forgot God, their Saviour. (שכחו)

iii. To rebel against YHWH (פשע)

Hos.7:13, for they have rebelled against Me. (פשעו עלי)

Jer.2:8, the rulers rebelled against Me. (פשעו בי)

v.29, All of you rebelled against Me. (פשעתם בל)

b. Three-fold Sphere.

i. The cultic sphere: (see 'Apostasy' in A).

ii. The legal sphere.

Hos.8:1, they have transgressed My law. (תורת)

4:6, you have forgotten the law of your God. (תורת)

Jer.2:8b, Those who handled the law did not know Me. (התורה)

Jer.2:34, Even upon the corners of your robe, there is
the life-blood of the poor innocent. (דם נקיים)

Ps.106:38, they poured out innocent blood. (דם נקא)

iii. The international sphere.

Hos.7:11, calling to Egypt.
going to Assyria.

Jer.2:18, What means this going to Egypt?
What means this going to Assyria?

5. Judgement.

a. YHWH's Wrath. (אַף)

Dt.32:22, For a fire is kindled by My anger. (אַפִּי)

Hos.8:5 My anger (אַפִּי) burns against them.

14:5 My anger has turned from them. (כִּי שָׁב אַפִּי מֵמֹנֵי)

Jer.2:35, You say, "Surely His anger is turned from me."
(אֲנִי שָׁב אֶפְרַיִם מִמֶּנִּי)

Ps.78:21, A fire was kindled against Jacob.

(cf.31), His anger (אַף) mounted against Israel.

106:40, Then the anger of YHWH was kindled, (אַף)
against His people.

b. YHWH's judgement (שֹׁפֵט, מִשְׁפָּט)

Dt.32:41, My hand shall seize in judgement. (בַּמִּשְׁפָּט)

Hos.5:1, For the judgement pertains to you. (הַמִּשְׁפָּט)

Jer.2:35, I will bring you to judgement. (נִשְׁפָּט)

Ps.50:6, For God Himself is Judge. (שֹׁפֵט)

82:1, In the midst He holds judgement. (יִשְׁפֹּט)

c. YHWH's discipline (מוֹסֵר)

Hos.5:2, I will chastise all of them. (מוֹסֵר)

Jer.2:30, They took no discipline. (מוֹסֵר)

Ps.50:17, You hate discipline. (מוֹסֵר)

d. In the image of a lion.

Dt.32:24, I will send the teeth of beasts against them.

Hos.5:14, I will be like a lion to Ephraim,
like a young lion (כִּפְיֵי) to the house of Judah.
I, even I will rend. (אֶטְרֵף)

11:10, He (YHWH) will roar like a lion (יִשְׁאֹל)
Yea, He will roar. (יִשְׁאֹל)

Jer.2:15, Upon him the lions roar. (יִשְׁאֹל כִּפְרֵי)

Ps.50:22, lest I rend. (אֶטְרֵף)

APPENDIX A.

=====

Terminology common to Dt.32, Hosea, Jer.2and the Asaph-Psalms.

Some words and expressions are common to Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms, Jud. 2:1-5 and Jeremiah ch.2. Several terms among them occur rarely in the Old Testament, (such as שער , דרך , אצל).

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hos.</u>	<u>Jer.2</u>	<u>As.Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
1. <u>YHWH</u>					
a. (ים) ח	40 (39)	2:1, 4:15	13		
b. (His) אף	22	(5:10, 8:5, 11:9, 14:5, 13:11.	35	(78:21, 31,38, 49, 50. 106:40.	
c. שפט (מ)	41	5:1	35	50:6,75:8, 82:1, 8.	
d. (His) מורסר		5:2	30	50:17	
אין עול	4		5		
(His) ריב		12:2,4:1	9, 9	74:22	
Father-image (אב etc.)	6,15,18		27 (to stock: in apostasy)		
Mother-image (ילד)	18		27 (to stone: in apostasy)		
-.-.-.-.-					
2. <u>Other gods.</u>					
a. זרים (אל זר)	16		25	81:10	
b. לא-אל (הים)	17,21	8:6	11		
c. הבל	21		5		

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hos.</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>As. Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
d. בעל(ים)		2:10, 15	8, 23		
e. מ אהבה		2:9	33		
שדים	17			106:37	

3. Israel.

a. עמי	43	2:3, 25	(11, 13 (31, 32	(50:4, 7 (81:9, 12, 14	
לא עמי	21	(1:9, 9 (2:1, 25			
b. Israel- Jacob	8-9	12:13	4	81:5, 105:10, 23 78:5, 21, 71	Ex. 19: 3
c. גפן	32, 32	(2:14 (10:1, 14:8	21	80:9, 15	
d. דור ¹⁾	5, 20		31	78:8, 8	
פרא ה		8:9	24		
כלה		4:13, 14	32		
e. אבותיכם	17	9:10	5	79:8, 106:6, 7, 78:3, 8, 12, 57	

4. Israel's apostasy.

a. זנה		(2:4, 6, 7, 3:3, (5:3-4, 4:12, 15 (6:10, 1:2, 2, (9:1.	20	(106:39 (73:27	Num. 25: 1
b. הלך אחרי		2:7, 15	25		

1) In the sense of "crooked (perverse) generation", the word occurs only in these references (Dt. 32:5, 20; Ps. 78:8, 8; Jer. 2:31) in the O.T.

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hos.</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>As. Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
c. בקש		2:9	33		
a. המיר כבוד		4:7	11	106:20	
משובה		11:7, 14:5	19		
ארות (ארה)		10:10	24	106:14	Num. 11:4
לא ידע	17, 32	(2:10, 4:1 (5:14, 11:3 (13:4	8	79:6 (=Jer. 10:25)	
תועבה	16		7		

5. Some words which are rare in the O. T.

שער	17(2)		12	50:3
אזל	36		36	
רוד		12:1	31	

6. Land.

YHWH's land (ארצי)		9:3	7	79:1, 78:55
YHWH's heritage (נחלה)			7	79:1, 78:55
desolate land (שות ארץ)		2:5, 6:11	15	

7. Day, time.

עתה	(4:6, 5:3, (7:2, 8:13, (10:2, 3, 13:2	18	
נעור	2:17	2	

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hos.</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>As. Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
עת-רעה			27, 28		
(ב) צר (ה)				50:15, 107:13 81:1, 8, 78:49	Jud. 10: 14 (Gen. 35: 3)

8. Response.

	(YHWH's)	(Israel's)	(Israel's)	
חסד	37	12:7, 10:12, 2:21, 4:2, 6:4, 6	2	
מר	32	4:4, 14:1	19 (21)	106:33
(מדה)				78:8, 105:28

APPENDIX B.

=====

The Covenant-Rib Form and its Contents.Common to Dt. 32, Hosea, Jer. 2 and the Asaph-Psalms.

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hosea</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>Asa. Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
1. <u>Appeal</u>	v. 1		v. 12		
השמים והארץ					
בני ישראל		4:1		50:7, 81:9	
				50:7, 81:9	

2. Historical Prologue

a. Exodus	העלה	12:14	v. 6	81:11	Jud. 2:1
b. In the wilderness.					
	מצא	v. 10	9:10		
	הוליך		2:16	v. 6	106:9
	ידע		12:5		
			לקח: 11:3		נזהג: 78:52
	נשא	v. 11	(11:3)		Ex. 19:4
	(Eagles' wings)				
c. Entry					
	הביא		v. 7		Ex. 19:4 Jud. 2:1
	נטע		v. 21	80:9, 16	

3. Interrogation

a.	מה ?	v. 20	(6:4, 4 (9:5, 14 (14:9	(5, 18 (23, 33 (36	50:16	Jud. 2:2b
b.	איה ?	v. 37		6, 8, 28	79:10	

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hosea</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>Asa.Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
c. ה ?	v.6		11, 32	(50:13, (78:19, 20	
d. הלא ?	v.6, 34		17		Jud.10:11 -12
e. איך ?		11:8, 8	21, 23	73:19	
f. למה ?			<u>29</u>	(74:1, 11 (80:13 (79:10	<u>Ex.17:2</u>

4. Accusation

a. Covenant-breaking

i. Against YHWH

עזב	15b (נטש)	4:10	13, 17, 19	Jud.10:13
שכח	18	(2:15, 4:6 (13:6, 8:14	32, 32	(50:22 (106:21
פשע בי		7:13	8:29	
לא שמע		9:17		(81:12 Jud.2:2b (106:25 6:10

נטש- 15

ii. Covenant	עבר - 8:1	הפר - Jud.2:1
--------------	-----------	---------------

b. Apostasy.

(In Appendix A, 2 and 6).

c. The legal sphere

i. תורה	8:1, 4:6	8b		
ii. Mishpatim.				
דם נקי		<u>34</u>	<u>106:38</u>	<u>Ex.23:6</u>
house-breaking		34		Ex.22:1
iii. On the Decalogue.	4:2		50:18 81:10	Ex.20:3f

	<u>Dt. 32</u>	<u>Hosea</u>	<u>Jer. 2</u>	<u>Asa. Ps.</u>	<u>Various</u>
d. <u>International sphere</u>					
מצרים אשור		(7:11, 11:5 (12:2	18 36		
אשור		(5:13, 9:5 (8:9			
5. <u>Judgement</u>					
a. אף	22	(5:10, 8:5 (11:9, <u>14:5</u> (13:11	<u>35</u>	(78:21, 31, 38 (49, 50 (106:40	Num. <u>25:4</u>
רעה	23		27, 28		
b. מ שפט	41	5:1	35	(50:6, 75:8 (82:1, 8	
c. מוסר		5:2	19 (30)	50:17	
d. Lion-image (כפיר)	24	(11:10, <u>5:14</u> (13:7, 8	<u>15</u>		
טרף		5:14		50:22	
e. No hope of help.					
i. אין מציל	39	5:14		50:22	
ii. (יקומר) (38) אם) יושיעוך			28		Jud. 10: 14

The Covenant Rib TraditionA. The Religious Crises as the background of the covenant Rib Tradition

The Israelites were confronted with religious crises as the result of sin and apostasy throughout the course of their history. In these crises the covenant-Rib was brought against Israel, according to biblical tradition, by Moses (Dt.32) the messenger of YHWH (Jud.2:1-5) a prophet of YHWH (Jud.6:7), the prophet Hosea, Jeremiah and the Asaph-Psalms. (Ps.50, 81, 106).

Such condemnation of Israel has been preserved in particular literary forms.¹⁾

Israel has forsaken Me (YHWH) - עָזַב (Dt.32:15 וַיַּעַזְב)

Dt.32:15, Hos.4:10, Jud.10:13, Jer.2:13,17,19.

Israel has forgotten Me (YHWH) - שָׁכַח

Dt.32:18, Hos.2:15, 4:6, Jer.2:32, Ps.50:22, 106:21.

Israel did not obey My voice (words) - לֹא שָׁמַע

Jud.2:2b, 6:10, Hos.9:17, Ps.81:12, 106:25.

Such passages have a basic common theme: i.e. the covenant relationship between YHWH and His people Israel. Whenever Israel breaks this covenant-relationship the religious crisis arises.

In the history of covenant Rib tradition certain events are recorded as religious crises.

- i. The Murmuring (rebellion) in the wilderness.
- ii. The worship of the golden calf at Sinai/Horeb, and Bethel/Dan.
- iii. The worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim.

1) This passage is clearly based on the Sinai covenant passage. (Ex.19:5). See further, pp. 236ff.

1. The Murmuring (Rebellion) Motif in the wilderness

a. The murmuring at Marah (Ex.15:22-25a).

The narrative of the murmuring at Marah (Ex.15:22-27) involves the problem of the extent of the narrative-unit. M. Noth and G.W. Coats analyse the literary sources¹⁾ and find that vv.22b-25a contain the old literary source of the "Marah story." The material in this old story is somewhat complex. There are two elements: one is the aetiology of "Marah" (v.23) and the other is the "murmuring-motif" at the water (vv.24-25a) v.23 is an aetiology concluding with a typical aetiological formula:

Therefore, they called its name Marah (על-כן קרא-שמה מרה)

This aetiological description is connected with the wilderness-wandering (v.22b). The passage recounts the bitter (מר) experience of Israel in the wilderness-wandering.

They went three days in the wilderness (במדבר),²⁾
and found no water. When they came to Marah,
they could not drink the water of Marah,
because it was bitter. (מר ים)

1) M. Noth, Exodus, pp.127-129.

G.W. Coats, Rebellion in the wilderness, pp.47-53.

Their analysis is this:

J.(22b),23-25a; P.22a 27; Dts.25b-26.

It is also probable that vv.25b-26 is the deuteronomic (or deuteronomistic) addition.

The verb 'מָסַח' tested is a play on the place-name "Massah", which does not come into this story.

"Massah" occurs in the deuteronomic (or deuteronomistic) sections (Ex.15:25b, Ps.95:8, Dt.6:16, 9:22, 33:8).

O. Eissfeldt, op.cit. p. 195.

Assigns Ex.15:20-27 to the pentateuch source L. (Lay-source)

2) See further p.335.

Vv.24-25a describe a two-sided murmuring-motif: on the one side the people's murmuring, and on the other YHWH's merciful response.

V.24 offers an introduction to the murmuring-motif.

And the people murmured against Moses, (לילן על)
saying, "What (מה) shall we drink?"

The negative attitude of the people is represented by the expression:

'murmured against'. (לן על)

Then he (Moses) cried to YHWH (קרא).

The cry of Moses to YHWH would involve "nothing more than a request for help in meeting the crisis."¹⁾

v.25a describes YHWH's miraculous response to them in their crisis.

YHWH showed him a tree and he threw it into the water,
and the water became sweet.

"The whole section of response to the bitter murmuring of Israel seems to be dominated by the gift of YHWH's gracious aid."²⁾

The connotation of the "Marah"-story is 'bitterness' (מר): Israel's bitter experience in the wilderness, bitter attitude to YHWH (Moses), and YHWH's gracious response to Israel in their bitter crisis.

The tradition of "Marah" of the bitter³⁾ in the relation between YHWH and Israel is preserved in Dt.32, Asaph-Psalms 106 and Jer.2.⁵⁾

Dt.32:32, their (apostate Israel) grapes are grapes of poison,
their clusters are bitter. (מררת)

Ps.106:33 for they (Israel) had embittered his spirit. (המרר)⁴⁾

Jer.2:19, Realize how evil and bitter is (רמר)⁵⁾
your abandoning YHWH your God.

Jer.2:21, How are you turned into bitterness (πικρία)⁶⁾
a strange wild vine.

1) G.W. Coats, op.cit., p.52.

2) G.W. Coats, op.cit., p.52

3) BDB. מר vb. contentious, rebellious, (p.598f)

Qal. towards God, Ps.78:8 105:28, Num.20:10 Hos.14:1 4:1.

Hiph. Ps.78:17,40, 106:7, 33, 43, etc.

מר adj. bitter, bitterness, of water: Ex.15:23, of wickedness.

Jer.2:19, 4:18.

מררת nf. bitterness (abstr), Dt.32:32.

מרירי adj. bitter, Dt.32:24.

4) NEB. p.707.

5) J. Muilenburg "The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah," p.52.

6) See further p. 56f.

b. The murmuring at Meribah (Ex.17:1-7)

The description of the murmuring at Meribah (Ex.17:1-7) similarly involves the problem of the extent of the narrative-unit. M.Noth and G.W. Coats analyse the literary sources and find that the "Meribah" story preserves the old material and that the "Massah" story is a deuteronomic (or deuteronomistic) addition.¹⁾ The structure of the old story of "Meribah" is similar to that of the narrative of the murmuring at Marah (Ex.15:22b-25a).

There are two elements: one is the aetiology of "Meribah" (vv.2,7) and the other is the murmuring-motif (vv.1b-6).

i. The aetiological story of Meribah.

v.7, and he called the name of the place Meribah (מֵרִיבָה)
because of the dispute (רִיב) of the children of Israel.

The literary form of the aetiological story is similar to that of the Marah-story (Ex.15:23).

"v.2a is the foundation for the aetiology as it now stands, using the verb ' רִיב ' with the preposition ' עַל ' to designate Moses as the object and the noun ' הָעָם ' to specify the subject."²⁾

v.2 Why do you dispute with me? (מַה-תִּרְיֹבֵן עִמָּדִי)

The Meribah-tradition, which Meribah alone is mentioned, is preserved in Num.20:2-13, Ps.81:8, 106:32-33,³⁾ and in Jer.2:29.

1) N. Noth, op.cit., pp.137-140.

C.W. Coats, op.cit., pp.53-71.

'Massah' occurs (without Meribah) in the Deuteronomic literature (Dt.6:16 9:22).

'Meribah and Massah' occurs as a composite term in Ps.95:8 and Dt.33:8.

O. Eissfeldt, op.cit. pp.199-201.

He assigns Ex.17:1-7 to the pentateuch sources J and E.

2) G.W. Coats, op.cit. p.57.

3) Num.20:13, These are the waters of Meribah, where the people of Israel disputed (רִיב) with YHWH.

Ps.81:8, I tested you at the waters of Meribah.

Ps.106:32, They angered YHWH at the water of Meribah, and Moses suffered because of them.

Jer.2:29, Why do you dispute with Me? (למה תריבן אלי)

This phraseology (Jer.2:29) is clearly related to that of Ex.17:2.

ii. The Murmuring-at-Meribah-Motif

The murmuring motif is two-sided: on the one side the people's murmuring, on the other YHWH's gracious act.

v.3 introduces the murmuring with 'העם' as subject.

But the people thirsted there for water,
and the people murmured against Moses.

The murmuring occurs through the nature of the crisis, i.e. the lack of water (v.1b: no water) and the people's thirst. The crisis is described in terms similar to Ex.15:24 (Marah-story). The people's negative attitude is represented in the expression: murmured against (לרן-על) Moses.

v.4, So Moses cried to YHWH, (צעק)
"What shall I do with this people?
They are almost ready to stone me".

Moses' cry to YHWH is a plea for help in meeting the grave crisis.

The content of the murmuring is against the purpose of delivering from Egypt.

v.3, Why have you brought us (העלה) up out of Egypt,
to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?

The exodus is YHWH's act of delivering Israel, so that this murmuring is not only against Moses, but also against YHWH. The crisis can be nothing other than rebellion against YHWH.

Therefore in Jer.ch.2 it is written:

v.29, Why do you dispute with Me?
All of you rebelled (פשע) against Me.

1) The similarities between Ex.15:22-25a and Ex.17:1-7 are:

- a. aetiology: they called its name - ויקרא שם (Ex.15:23, Ex.17:7)
- b. murmuring motif: at the waters (מים)
 1. The people murmured against Moses וילן העם על-משה
Ex.15:24, Ex.17:3.
 2. Interrogation: Ex.15:24 (מה), Ex.17:3. (למה)
 3. Moses cried to YHWH ויצעק משה אל-יהוה
Ex.15:24, Ex.17:4.
 4. YHWH's response - Ex.15:25 Ex.17:5-6.
 5. The locus of the murmuring is in the wilderness (מדבר).

vv.5-6 describes YHWH's miraculous response to them in their crisis even in their rebellion.

And YHWH said to Moses -

"Behold, I will stand before you there on the rock at Horeb; and you shall strike the rock, and water shall come out of it, that the people may drink!" (Ex.17:6)

The theme of the gift of YHWH's gracious aid dominates the rebellious murmuring of Israel.

The connotation of the "Meribah" story in the old source is on the one hand Israel's "Rib" (dispute), their rebellious murmuring against YHWH, and on the other hand YHWH's gracious response to Israel in their crisis.

This basic structure and thought in Ex.17:1-7 are expanded in Asaph-Psalms (Pss.81, 106) and in Jeremiah ch.2.¹⁾

1) We note, then, the similarities and differences between Ex.17:1-7 and Jeremiah ch.2.

1. Similarities (A) in phraseology.

- a. Rib. (רִיב). Subject is Israel (the people).
Ex.17:3, Why do you dispute with Me? (מַה-תִּרְיִבֶּנָּן עִמָּדִי)
Jer.2:29, Why do you dispute with Me? (לִמָּה תִרְיִבֶּנָּן אֵלַי)
- b. The Exodus formula (הַעֲלָה) occurs. Ex.17:7, Jer.2:6.
brought us from (the land of) Egypt!
- c. Israel's rhetorical question.
Ex.17:7, Saying "Is YHWH among us or not?"
Jer.2:6 They did not say: "Where is YHWH?"
- d. The locus of Israel's Rib is related to the wilderness (מִדְבָּר).
Ex.17:1, Jer.ch.2 2,6,24,15.
- e. Israel's thirst (צָמָא) Ex.17:3, Jer.2:24.
- f. Concerning 'water' (מַיִם) Ex.17:1,2,6, Jer.2:13,13.

(B) in structure.

Israel's rebellious attitude and YHWH's gracious acts.

2. Differences between Ex.17:1-7 and Jer.2.

- a. Rib. In Ex.17:3 the Rib is between Israel and Moses. (Me:Moses)
In Jer.2:29, it is between Israel and YHWH. (Me:YHWH)
- b. Exodus, In Ex.17:7, Why did you (Moses) bring us?
in Jer.2:6, YHWH who brought us.

2. The Worship of the golden-calf at Sinai/Horeb and Bethel & Dan.¹⁾

a. The worship of the golden-calf at Sinai/Horeb. (Ex.32)

The golden-calf incident is the expression of a religious crisis. This crisis reflects a major clash between Israelite tradition and the widespread culture of the Canaanites, in which bull worship was quite common. A name such as Baal-Zephon (Ex.14:2f) immediately suggests the worship of the Canaanite Baal honoured in this area.²⁾

Ex.32 describes the rebellion connected with the golden calf at Sinai/Horeb as apostasy and a breach of the covenant. (v.19b, cf.23:28)

v.4: He (Aaron) made a molten calf -
and they (the people) said,
"These are your gods, O Israel who brought you up
out of the land of Egypt!" (cf.Ex.32:8.)

Moses condemned the people denouncing their action as a great sin (v.21).

Asaph-Ps.106:19-20 preserves this tradition with its interpretation:

They made a calf in Horeb,
and worshipped a molten image,
They exchanged their Glory³⁾
for the image of an ox that eats grass.

In Jeremiah ch.2 the same idea and expression occur (v.11).

My people changed His Glory
for 'Ne-Profit'.

The Jeremiah passage may be rooted in the tradition concerning the worship of the golden calf at Sinai/Horeb which is preserved in Ex.32 and Ps.106. It is characteristic of Jeremiah that he applied the tradition to his contemporary situation, i.e., of Israel's apostasy and covenant-breaking.

1) On this subject, recent studies are:

M. Noth, op.cit., pp.243-252.

S. Lehming, Versuch zu Ex.32, VT 10, 1960, pp.16-50.

N.C.Habel, Yahweh versus Baal, pp.20-24.

M. Noth comments: 'the history of the tradition of the narrative of the golden calf cannot be separated from the setting up of two "golden calves" in the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan by King Jeroboam of Israel, reported in I.Kings 12:28f.' (p.246)

2) N.C. Habel, op.cit., p.20.

3) See further p.10, 39, 180.

b. The worship of the golden calf at Bethel and Dan. (I.Kings, 12:28-33)

A similar incident concerning the worship of the golden-calf occurs in I.Kings, 12:28-33:

Jeroboam, King of Israel, made two calves of gold and he set one in Bethel and the other he put in Dan. (vv.28-29)

So Bethel was the King's sanctuary and a temple of the kingdom of Northern Israel (Am.7:13) in which the golden calf was worshipped.

He (Jeroboam I) said to the people,
"Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up
out of the land of Egypt." (v.28)

This passage is very similar to Ex.32:4,8 but there is no reason to doubt that the stories reflect two originally separate traditions. The traditions may have reacted upon one another.¹⁾

The worship of the golden calf continued in the reigns of King Jehu and Jeroboam II in Northern Israel:²⁾

Jehu wiped out Baal from Israel. But Jehu did not turn aside from the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which he made Israel to sin, the golden calves that were in Bethel and in Dan.
(II.Kings.10:28-29)

Jeroboam (II) the son of Joash King of Israel reigned forty-one years. And he did what was evil in the sight of YHWH. He did not depart from all the sins of Jeroboam the son of Nebat, which he made Israel to sin.
(II.Kings.14:23-24)

Hosea condemned the calf worship and Bethel (Beth/Aven:4:15,5:8,10:5).

With their silver and gold they made idols
for their own destruction.
I have spurned your calf, O Samaria.
My anger burns against them.
It is not God.
The calf of Samaria shall be broken to pieces. (8:4b-5)

1) J. Gray, I-II Kings, p.291.

He suggests that 'the plural of the noun (your gods: Ex.32:4,8) which has significance only with reference to gods of Dan and Bethel, indicates that the Exodus passage has been elaborated to cast aspersions on Jeroboam's cult.' (p.291)

2) S.R. Driver, Exodus, p.348.

He comments, 'the worship of these calves continued till the fall of the N.Kingdom in B.C.722 (2.K.10:29, 2.K.17:16, Hos.8:5,6,10:5 13:2).'

In Bethel we perhaps meet the conflict between two confession-formulae which ascribed the Exodus event to two different Originators: in the one it is 'YHWH who brought Israel from Egypt' (העלה)¹⁾ - a confession which is preserved in the canonical prophetic speech (Hos.12:14, Ps.81:11, Jer.2:6, Jud.2:1, Am.2:10, 3:1).

In the other it is 'the golden calves' of whom apostate people said:

Behold your gods, O Israel, who brought you up (העלה)
out of the land of Egypt. (Ex.34:4,8, I.Ki.12:28, Neh.9:18)

In such crises for Israel's faith in YHWH, the prophetic movement within Yahwism seems to have been active and strong around Bethel in the Northern Kingdom of Israel.²⁾

The book of Jeremiah preserves the tradition of Bethel:³⁾

As the house of Israel was ashamed of Bethel,
their confidence. (Jer.48:13)

- 1) On the Exodus 'העלה' formula;

J. Wijngaards, "הרצ'א' and 'העלה' A Twofold Approach to the Exodus" VT 15, 1965, pp.91-102.

He suggests: 'the formula must have been at home in the Northern Kingdom, particularly at the sanctuaries of Bethel and Dan. Osee and Amos testify to its existence as a sacred formula at their time (Os.12:14, cf.11:1, 12:10, Am.2:10, 3:1, 9:7.' (p.100) See further p. 353ff.

- 2) Bethel is condemned in the mid-eighth century by both Amos and Hosea.

Amos.4:4-5 - Come to Bethel, and transgress;

5:4-5 Seek me and live;
but do not seek Bethel,
for - Bethel shall come to nought.

Hosea.4:15, 9:15, 10:5,15.

- 3) On Bethel in the early time of Jeremiah, historical narratives describe:

'Moreover the altar at Bethel - he (King Josiah) pulled down and he broke in pieces its stones, crushing them to dust; also he burned the Asherah. (II.Ki.23:15)

In the twelfth year Josiah began to purge Judah and Jerusalem - and throughout all the land of Israel. (vv.3,7)

Jeremiah's prophetic activity started in the thirteenth year of Josiah's reign (Jer.1:2, 25:3). How much Josiah's attitude to Bethel was determined by prophetic activity, how much by purely political consideration is difficult to decide.

3. The Worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim and the Harlotry-Motif. (Num.25:1-5)

Baal-Peor in Shittim is the focus of another religious crisis in the history of Israel. The incident of Baal-Peor is described in Num.25:1-5.

- vv.1-3, While Israel dwelt in Shittim the people began to play the harlot (לִזְנוּת) with the daughters of Moab.
 These invited the people to the sacrifices of their gods,¹⁾
 and the people ate, and bowed down to their gods.
 So Israel yoked (וַיִּצְמַד) himself to Baal of Peor.
 And the anger of YHWH was kindled against Israel. (אף יהוה)

The worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim is condemned as religious harlotry, (זִנָּה) which was no mere peccadillo.²⁾

- v.4 YHWH said to Moses, "Take all the chiefs of the people, and hang them in the sun before YHWH, that the fierce anger of YHWH may turn away from Israel!" (וַיֹּשֶׁב חֲרוֹן אַף-יְהוָה מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל)

The incident of Baal-Peor is recited as a sin of Israel, using the harlotry-motif, in Asaph-Psalm 106:28-29, which 'is dependent on the Num.25:1-5.'³⁾

- v.28, Then they attached themselves (וַיִּצְמַדוּ) to the Baal-Peor and ate sacrifices offered to the dead.
 v.29, They provoked YHWH to anger with their doings.
 v.39, Thus they became unclean by their acts, and played the harlot (וַיִּזְנוּ) in their doings.
 v.40, Then the anger of YHWH was kindled against His people. (אף יהוה)

1) The god of Moab was Chemosh (Num.21:29, Jer.48:46).

2) cf. N.C. Habel, Yahweh versus Baal, p.24.

3) cf. M. Noth, Numbers, p.197.

He comments that v.5 (Num.25) is "an addition by a later writer!" The description in Num.25:5 is similar to that in Ex.32:27 which recounts the command of Moses to the Levites at the destruction of the golden calf.

In the book of Hosea this historical allusion has become a type for Hosea. It contains the basic notion of harlotry of which Hosea makes so much.¹⁾ He sees the basic sin of Israel as covenant breaking described under the form of harlotry. (זָנִית)

The Baal-Peor tradition recurs in Hos.9:1-10.

- v.1, Rejoice not, O Israel! -
 for you have played the harlot (זָנִית) forsaking your God.
 You have loved a harlot's hire
 upon all threshing floors.
- v.10, Like grapes in the wilderness, I found Israel.
 Like the first fruit on the fig tree,
 in its first season I saw your fathers.
 But they came to Baal-Peor,
 and consecrated themselves to Baal. ("Shame")³⁾

This oracle seems to be rooted in the story of Num.25:1-5, and to be characterised by the repeated use of history to establish the perspective in which the present is to be understood.²⁾

In Jeremiah ch.2, Jeremiah applied this historical allusion in order to create a realization of the contemporary apostate situation of Israel.

But upon every high-hill and under every green tree
 you bow down and commit harlotry. (זָנִית)
 Yet I planted you as a Sorek vine,
 wholly a genuine seed.
 But how are you turned into bitterness,
 a strange wild vine? (vv.20-21)

Jeremiah ch.2 stands in the tradition of the harlotry-motif which originated in the religious crisis of Baal-Peor in Shittim as described in Num.25:1-5 and is preserved in Hosea 9:1-10 and Ps.106.

1) W. Brueggemann, Tradition for Crisis, p.32.

On the harlotry-motif in Hosea: Hos.1:2,2, 2:4-6,7, 5:3-4, 4:12,15,
 6:10 9:1, 3:3.

2) cf. J.L. Mays, Hosea, p.132.

3) BHK 3 suggests reading ' לַנֶּעַל '.

J.L. Mays comments that "'Shame' is an abusive name for Baal (cf.2:5, 10:6); the practice of replacing Baal's name with 'Shame' may well have begun with the derisive interpretation put forward by Hosea."
 (p.133)

It is interesting to find that the tradition of the religious crises of Israel - the murmuring (rebellion) in the wilderness at Marah (Ex.15.22-25) and at Meribah (Ex.17:1-7), the worship of the golden-calf at Sinai/Horeb (Ex.32) and at Bethel and Dan (I.Ki.12:28-33), and the worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim (Num.25:1-5) - is preserved in the chain Dt.32, Hosea, Asaph-Psalms (Ps.78, 81, 106) and Jeremiah ch.2.

Accordingly it was most probably in the Northern Kingdom Israel that it was preserved. Even in this tradition of the rebellion of Israel in the wilderness, then Jeremiah ch.2 builds on the prophetic tradition of the Northern Kingdom of Israel.¹⁾

1) cf. A.C. Tunyogi, "The Rebellions of Israel", JBL 81, p.390.

His statement that "on the other hand, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah, are not familiar with it (the rebellion of Israel)" (p.390) is not acceptable.

But his remark that "most probably it (the rebellion of Israel) was in the Northern Kingdom" (p.390) is suggestive.
(preserved in the traditions of)

B. The Penitential Service in connection with the Covenant-Rib

G.E. Wright suggests that "it appears possible that at one time in North Israel the covenant-renewal celebration was revised, and turned into a penitential service by the use of the Rib motif."¹⁾

4. The Penitential Service at Bethel (Judges)

The passage Jud.2:1-5, as the 'origo' of the covenant-Rib suggests the association with a penitential service at Bethel (cf. Jud.20:26).

The passage (Jud.2:1-5) contains the aetiological narrative giving the explanation of the place name 'Bochim' (LXX. Bethel).²⁾

Judges 20 provides clear evidence of the great importance of Bethel as a cultic centre of the tribal confederacy.

Jud.20:18, The people of Israel arose and went up to Bethel, and inquired of God.

20:26, Then all the people of Israel, the whole army, went up and came to Bethel and wept. (וַיֵּבְכוּ)

They sat there before YHWH, and fasted that day until evening, and offered burnt offerings and peace offerings

v.27, before YHWH. And the people of Israel inquired of YHWH (for the ark of the covenant of God was there in those

v.28, days, and Phinehas the son of Eleazar, son of Aaron, ministered before it in those days).

"At that time (of Judges) Bethel was the amphictyonic cultic centre" where the people of Israel gathered before YHWH (the ark of covenant) and performed "a 'fast' which was observed as a solemn lamentation at times of distress",³⁾ (cf. Jud.21:2): the penitential service.

Beyerlin suggests that "amphiktyonische Buss und Fasterfeier" might be the "kultische Sitz im Leben" of the covenant Rib.⁴⁾

Accordingly we may trace a close connection between the covenant-Rib message and the penitential service at Bethel where there was a cultic centre of the tribal confederacy in the time of the Judges. (Jud.2:1-5)

1) G.E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God", in IPH, p.59.

2) See further p.255f.

3) H-J. Kraus, Worship in Israel, p.147.

4) W. Beyerlin, "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch", in TUS., p.27. *TUS*

2.66 Bethel Tradition and Jacob Tradition (In Genesis)

The Jacob tradition has a close link with the Bethel tradition in Genesis.

a. Jacob names Bethel.

Gen.28:19, He (Jacob) called the name of that place Bethel.

This is a word play with v.17 ("This is none other than the house of God: אין זה כי אם-בית אלהים") in an aetiological narrative.

Gen.35:7, (Jacob) called the place El-Bethel.

v.15, Jacob called the name of the place where God had spoken with him, Bethel.

This is a three-fold story of the naming of Bethel by Jacob.

b. YHWH and Jacob - Encounter at Bethel.

In the Jacob-narrative, Jacob encountered YHWH, who revealed Himself to him and talked to him, at Bethel.

Gen.28:13, Behold, YHWH stood above it, and said,
"I am YHWH, the God of Abraham your father and
the God of Isaac - .

v.16, Then Jacob-awoke from his sleep and said,
"Surely YHWH is in this place, and I did not know it."
And he was^aafraid, and said,
"How awesome is this place!
This is none other than the house of God."

v.21, then YHWH shall be my God.

Gen.31:11-13 Then the angel of God said to me, "Jacob" -
I am the God of Bethel.

Gen.35:7, (Jacob) called the place El-Bethel,
because there God had revealed Himself to him.

Gen.35:15, Jacob called the name of the place where God had
spoken with him Bethel.

Gen.35:8, Deborah died and was buried under the oak below Bethel and he named it "Allon-Bacuth (Oak of weeping: בכרת)"

In this passage the Jacob narrative refers to 'Bethel' and 'Bacuth' (weeping) - in the context of a "mourning rite."

d. On the day of distress.

The Jacob narrative features the God who answered him (Jacob) in the day of the distress (צָר) redeeming him from all evil (רָע).²⁾

Gen.35:1, God said to Jacob, "Arise, go up to Bethel, and dwell there -."

v.2, So Jacob said to his household -
"Put away the foreign gods that are among you, and purify yourselves, and change your garments;

v.3, then let us arise and go up to Bethel, that I may make there an altar to the God who answered me in the day of my distress (צָרָתִי) and has been with me wherever I have gone."

This refers to the penitential service at Bethel in which there was a remembrance of the merciful act of God in the day of Jacob's distress, putting away of other gods and a pledge to serve YHWH as their God.

1) Another case of Jacob's weeping occurs in Gen.33:1ff. (In the narrative of Jacob's meeting with Esau):

Gen.33:1, Jacob lifted up his eyes and looked, and behold, Esau was coming - .

v.3, He himself (Jacob) went on before them, bowing himself (וַיִּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה) to the ground seven times.

v.4 But Esau ran to meet him, and embraced him, and fell on his neck and kissed him and they wept. (וַיִּבְכּוּ)

While the weeping here denotes perhaps penitence, it has no cultic significance.

2) Gen.48:16, -(Jacob blessed Joseph and said)
"the angel who has redeemed me from all evil (רָע)."

3. The Jacob (Bethel) tradition in Hosea.12¹⁾

In Hosea 12:3-6, "Hosea skillfully incorporates the Patriarchal-Jacob narratives in a comprehensive description, using key-words and word-play."²⁾ The Rib of YHWH, Jacob Bochim (weeping) and Bethel are all linked up here.

Hos.12:3f, YHWH has a Rib against Israel³⁾
to visit (punish) Jacob -

v.5, He (Jacob)⁴⁾ strove with (לַיְשָׁרָאֵל) an angel
and prevailed. (יָכַל)
He (Jacob)⁴⁾ wept (בָּכָה) and begged favour.
At Bethel He (YHWH)⁵⁾ found him,
there He spoke with him.

v.7 So you, by (the help of) your God, you shall return.
(וָרָחֵם)

This prophetic speech has the penitential aim of inducing Israel to repent of "their rebellion and apostasy by the help of God's judgement."

1) The interpretations of Hos.12:3-7 are many and varied: among recent studies:

A. Bentzen, "The Weeping of Jacob Hos.12:5a" VT 1, 1951, pp.58-59.

M. Gertner, "Appendix: An Attempt at an Interpretation of Hosea 12" VT 10, 1960, pp.272-284.

P.R. Ackroyd, "Hosea and Jacob", VT 13, 1963, pp.245-259.

E.M. Good, "Hosea and the Jacob Tradition", VT 16, 1966, pp.137-151.

J.L. Mays, Hosea, pp.161-165.

2) M. Gertner, op.cit., p.278, in "The Masora and the Levites", VT 10.

3) P.R. Ackroyd, op.cit., p.248.

He translates 'Israel' and notes, "MT. Judah, probably a reapplication."

4) A. Bentzen, op.cit., p.58.

He suggests that "the subject is Jacob. The prophet's version of the story is the same as in Gen.32."

5) M. Gertner, op.cit., p.278.

He suggests that the subject is God in parallel with Gen.35.
(He will reveal Himself to you in Bethel: p.278)

4. The aim of the dictation of Jeremiah ch.2 (Jer.36)

In Jeremiah ch.36 there is a clear description of the process whereby Jeremiah dictated the so-called "Ur-Scroll",¹⁾ in which Jer.bh.2 was presumably contained.

a. The word of YHWH came to Jeremiah. (Jer.36:1, cf.25:1)

In the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah, this word came to Jeremiah from YHWH. (Jer.36:1)

The chronological passage "in the fourth year of Jehoiakim the son of Josiah, king of Judah" occurs three times in the book of Jeremiah (25:1, 36:1, 45:1). It might be an important date in the book of Jeremiah.

"The fourth year of Jehoiakim was the year 605/4 (April to April). It will be recalled that it was in the late spring or early summer of 605 that Nebuchadnezzar crushed the Egyptian forces at Carchemish on the Euphrates and began his advance into Syria."²⁾

Then J. Bright comments: "It is quite probable that this event was the occasion for the scroll's being written."³⁾

Take a scroll and write on it all the words that I have spoken to you against Israel and Judah and all the nations, from the day I spoke to you, from the days of Josiah until today. (Jer.36:2)

Concerning the phrase 'from the days of Josiah,' other passages (Jer.25:3, 1:2) are more specific:

for twenty-three years, from the thirteenth year of Josiah the son of Amon, king of Judah, to this day.

1) Concerning the "Ur-Scroll":

T.H. Robinson, "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42, 1924, pp.209-221.

F. Augustin, "Baruch und das Buch Jeremias", ZAW 67, 1955, pp.50-56.

C. Rietzschel, "Das Problem der Urrolle", 1966.

2) J. Bright, Jeremiah, Anc.B, p.181.

3) ibid, p.181.

b. The Aim of Dictation of Jeremiah. (Jer.36:3, 7)

Jeremiah ch.36:3 describes the aim in recording the prophetic speech which YHWH spoke to Jeremiah:

'It may be that the house of Judah will hear all the disaster (הַרָעָה) which I intend to do to them, so that everyone may turn (יָשׁוּבוּ) from his evil way, and that I may forgive their iniquity (אֲנִיחָם) and their sin.' (אָשׁוּחָם)

The scroll is intended to provide the people with an opportunity for repentance (נִחָם). (cf. 36:7, 45:1f)

Jeremiah ordered Baruch to read the scroll on a fast day (36:4).

A. Baumann comments, "Jer.36:6 suggests that already at the time of writing the original Scroll Jeremiah had in mind its reading on a fast-day and that he arranged the subject-matter accordingly."¹⁾

The fast day thus provided an opportunity for Jeremiah to proclaim the prophetic Rib-form speech which is the main subject of Jeremiah ch.2.

This linking of fast day (penitence), rib-form, and the call to repentance, again seems to have the roots in northern tradition (i.e. Bethel) and to have come to Jeremiah through Judges and Hosea.

1) A. Baumann, "Urrolle und Fasttag," ZAW 80, 1968, pp.350-373, p.373.

In the time of Israel's religious crises, the covenant-Rib speech was successively directed from YHWH against Israel, according to the biblical tradition, by Moses (Dt.32), the messenger (מלאך) of YHWH (Jud.2:1-5), a prophet of YHWH (Jud.6:7), the prophet Hosea, Jeremiah and the circles which produced the Asaph-Psalms.

They have this common characteristic: that they are the prophetic messengers of YHWH setting forth the covenant-Rib from YHWH against His people Israel.

1. Prophetic circles in Northern Israel

a. As the prophetic messenger of YHWH.

Moses. (Dt.32 - Covenant-Rib form speech)

Ex.3:8,10, Then YHWH said - "I have come down to -
bring them up out of that land to a good - land,
Come, I will send you (אשלחך) to Pharaoh that
you may bring forth My people, the sons of Israel,
out of Egypt."

Ex.3,15,16, God also said to Moses, "Say this to the people of Israel,
'YHWH - has sent me (שלחני) to you.'"

The angel of YHWH. (מלאך) Jud.2:1.

Jud.2:1, Now the angel (מלאך) of YHWH went up from Gilgal
to Bethel,
When the angel of YHWH spoke these words to all the people
of Israel. the people (העם) lifted up their voices
and wept.

A prophet of YHWH. (איש נביא) Jud.6:8

Jud.6:8, YHWH sent (וישלח) a prophet to the people of Israel
and said to them, "Thus says YHWH the God of Israel -."

Gideon. (Jud.6:31 - Rib)

Jud.6:14, YHWH turned to him and said,
"Go, do not I send you?" (שלחתיך)

Samuel. (I.Sam.12:7 Samuel took the controversy with Israel before YHWH)

I.Sam.15:1, Samuel said to Saul, "YHWH sent me to anoint you."
(שלח)

12:6 Samuel said to the people. (העם)

v.8, "YHWH sent (שלח) Moses and Aaron,

v.11, and Jephthah and Samuel." (YHWH sent (שלח) Barak)

Elijah. (I.Ki.19:9)

I.Ki.19:9, the word of YHWH came to him:

II.Ki.1:6, a man (Elijah) said to us "Thus says YHWH."

2:2, Elijah said to Elisha, "YHWH sent me (שלחני) to Bethel."

Hosea. (Rib: 2:4, 4:1,4,4, 12:3)

Hos.4:1, Hear the word of YHWH, O people of Israel,
for YHWH has a controversy (Rib) with the inhabitants
of the land.

In Hosea.12:14 Moses is described as "a prophet" (נביא).

Jeremiah. (Rib: 2:9,9)

Jer.2:4, Hear the word of YHWH, O house of Jacob,
and all the families of the house of Israel.
Thus says YHWH - the oracle of YHWH.

Jeremiah stands in the tradition of the prophetic line of Moses and Samuel (Jer.15:1).

The characteristic of the prophetic messenger of YHWH is common to all these figures: their character is that of messengers, commissioned by YHWH to deliver a message from YHWH to the people (העם) Israel.

What is the relation between the messenger of YHWH and the covenant Rib? In this problem Ex.32:33 seems to occupy a key position. Israel offended against YHWH in the matter of the golden calf, and broke the covenant relation with YHWH (Ex.32:19). YHWH did not abandon His saving plan (Ex.32:34), yet His direct presence would destroy sinful Israel (Ex.33:5).

So the question arises: how was Israel still the people of YHWH? The answer is given: YHWH sends (שלח) His messenger (מלאך) to His people (עם) Israel.

I will send an Angel (מלאך)¹⁾ before you. (Ex.33:2)

The messenger of YHWH is an extension of the mediating office.

YHWH's messenger is the one who shows YHWH's way to Israel that they may know YHWH (and His presence) and His way (cf. Ex.33:13).

On the one hand, this office is a sign of the wrath of YHWH, since His holiness might destroy Israel, but on the other hand it is a proof of His will to save Israel.²⁾

YHWH's messenger is YHWH's aid to Israel personalised almost to the point of becoming a mediating official of the covenant relationship. Thus His role stresses both human actions and the divine: i.e. Israel's sin and rebellion, and YHWH's judgement and saving act.³⁾

Concerning the relation between the prophetic office and the Rib, G.E. Wright-suggests:

"Without the prophetic office no Rib would have been announced in Israel. Hence the rib form must have originated in Israelite circles where the theology of the prophetic office was seriously regarded as a vital part of God's rule over Israel. This must have been in North Israel -."⁴⁾

1) J. Gray, I-II.Kings, OTL p.301.

He comments on 'an angel or messenger, (מלאך)': it "is usual in the Pentateuch, particularly in E, and in both instances (I.Ki.13:18, 19:5) we have North Israelite traditions, which may reflect here the theology of E in introducing an intermediary between God and man." (p.301)

2) cf. G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.1, p.288.

3) cf. G. von Rad, ibid., p.288.

4) G.E. Wright, "The Lawsuit of God," in IPH., p.62.

2. The Levitical circles in Northern Israel

The role of the Levitical circles in the covenant-Rib tradition calls for somewhat closer examination.¹⁾

The origins of the Levites are obscure.²⁾

a. Moses.

According to Biblical tradition, Moses came from "the house of Levi" (Ex.2:1-2).

Now a man from the house of Levi (מִבֵּית לֵוִי) went and took ~~to~~ wife a daughter of Levi. The woman conceived and bore a son (Moses).³⁾

- 1) G.E. Wright, op.cit. p.65.

He suggests: "In that time (of Elijah) the theological reformulation of the Mosaic covenant tradition (into the covenant-lawsuit theme) was surely undertaken. Its fruits are only partially preserved for us in the canonical prophets, in the Levitical teaching and liturgical elements preserved in the Book of Deuteronomy, and one may now be permitted to add - in Dt.32."

- 2) Concerning the etymology of the names, 'Levi and Levites' :

E. Nielsen, Shechem, p.265f.

R.de Vaux, Ancient Israel, p.359f.

- 3) M. Noth, Exodus, p.25.

He comments: "What the original tradition means by 'the house of Levi' remains extremely questionable - later it was natural to think of the 'priestly tribe of Levi'; indeed, in view of Ex.4:14, we must even ask whether a more accurate translation might not be 'from the house (the family) of a Levite', or even 'from a Levitical house' i.e. a Levitical family."

b. The Levites at Kadesh.

The name "Kadesh" (קדש) in Hebrew means "sacred", so it evidently referred initially to a holy site.

In Gen.14:7 Kadesh is also called "En Mishpat" (עֵין מִשְׁפָּט): (Well of Judgement). Another name closely connected with the site is "Meribah" (מֵרִיבָה) which occurs in the expression "waters of Meribah of Kadesh" (Num.27:14, Dt.32:51, Ez.47:19 48:24), so it is undoubtedly yet another name either for Kadesh, itself, or a satellite centre. In the books of Exodus and Numbers there are several traditions which probably are to be associated with Kadesh (Ex.15:23-26, 17-18, and Num.11-20).¹⁾

W. Eichrodt puts forward the attractive suggestion that the Levites were in fact the primitive priesthood of Kadesh: so that they were from the beginning concerned with the preservation of sacred (קדש) tradition, especially that of the עֵין מִשְׁפָּט (Gen.14:7, Ex.15:25) and the Rib (Meribah) (Ex.17:2,7).

The relationship of the Levites to Kadesh is best left an open question,³⁾ but it is certain that the ark and the Levites did become closely associated at an early period (at Gilgal: Josh.3:3f).

1) The wilderness-tradition, see further p. 341.
The murmuring-tradition, see further p. 277-281.

2) W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, Vol.I, p.394.

3) R.de Vaux, "The Settlement of the Israelites in Southern Palestine and the Origins of the Tribe of Judah", in H.C. May-Festschrift, TUOT., p.108-134.

M.L. Newman, The People of the Covenant, pp.72-101.

He posited a division at Kadesh: the result of the controversies at Kadesh was a separation of the two groups. The group dominated by Joseph, a Rachel tribe, broke off from that dominated by Judah, a Leah tribe. The Levites accompanying Joseph were to form the nucleus of the northern priesthood attached to the ark of the covenant. Some Levites remained at Kadesh with Judah (in some dynastic structure of relationship attached to the tent of meeting). "The Aaronic priesthood was in charge of it (the tent of meeting)." (p.101)

c. Levites and Ex.32:25-29.

The section in Ex.32 describes the conferment of priesthood on the sons of Levi by Moses himself. The narrative explains not only the priesthood of the Levites, but also the characteristic detachment of the Levites from all family ties.¹⁾ They had survived only as gerim²⁾ being scattered in Israel (Gen.49:7). The two things are explained together. The story is governed by a double meaning, a sort of pun or word-play, on the ambiguous expression "to fill (the) hand." (מלאר ידכם)

v.29, Moses then said

"Today you have consecrated yourselves to YHWH,
(מלאר ידכם היום ליהוה)
for each one at the cost of his son and of his brother,
that He may give a blessing upon you this day."

Here the double meaning of the expression מלאר ידכם comes into play:³⁾ the Levites, as a result of their "filling their hands" in the slaying of their kinsmen have "filled their hands" in the sense of becoming priests.⁴⁾

The description of the important role of the Levites who stand on YHWH's side against the golden-calf and apostasy at Horeb (Ex.32:25-29) compares with their opposition to the cult of the golden-calves at Bethel in Northern Israel and the non-Levitical priesthood of Bethel.

1) M. Noth, Exodus p.250-251.

2) P.de Vaux Ancient Israel p.364.

3) cf. Jer.5:31, W.L. Holladay, "The Priests scrape out on their hands, Jer.5:31," VT 15, 1965, p.111-113.

4) A. Cody, A History of Old Testament Priesthood, p.154.

5) M. Noth, op.cit., p.250.

M.Noth suggests: "the insertion of the section into the narrative of the golden calf may indicate that the claim of the Levites to priestly privileges, etc., had to be carried through against the priesthood of the royal sanctuaries of the state of Israel (cf. Jeroboam's appointment of non-Levitical priest in I.Ki. 12:31b)."

d. The Levites and Dt.33:8-11.

In the Blessing of Moses (Dt.33) we find a clear picture of what Levites were supposed to be (vv.8-11).

The style and content of vv.8-11 suggest that the passage may be comprised of two sections: i. the singular form (Levi) in vv.8-9a,11, which constitutes the primitive blessing of Levi; ii. the plural form (Levites) in vv.9b-10, which indicates a later addition.¹⁾

i. The older part (vv.8-9a,11)

G. von Rad suggests:

"Reminiscences (of historical happenings) are revived here which were still current in Israel when the saying was composed. Nevertheless, v.9 recalls Ex.32:26-29, while in v.8 allusions have been found to Ex.17:1-7 and Num.20:1-13 (the Meribah-story)."²⁾

The description in v.8b preserves the word-play of "Meribah" and "Rib", and offers the interpretation that it was Levi with whom YHWH disputed (Rib) at the waters of Meribah.

ii. The additional part (vv.9b-10)

In this section in the plural form (vv.9b-10) the office of the Levites includes two distinct functions: the first is "to teach the Law" (משפט ותורה) and the second is "to offer sacrifice."³⁾

Verse 9b preserves the Sinai covenant tradition which is described in Ex.19:3-8.

for (כי) the observed Thy word (שמר) and kept Thy covenant. (ברית) (v.9)

The Blessing of Moses upon Levi (Levites) in Dt.33:8-11 preserves a combination of the Kadesh (Meribah) tradition and the Sinai (covenant) tradition.

1) cf. A. Cody, op.cit., p.114-120.

2) G. von Rad, Deuteronomy, p.206-207.

3) cf. G. von Rad, Ibid., p.206.

M.L. Newman, op.cit., p.100.

e. The Levites in Northern Israel.

ii. At the time of Jeroboam I.

Jeroboam I (king of Israel) made two calves of gold, and set one in Bethel and the other in Dan.

He also appointed priests from among all the people, who were not of the Levites (I.Ki.12:28-31).

According to the description of the Chronicler:

The Levites (that were in all Israel) left their common lands and their holdings and came to Judah and Jerusalem, because Jeroboam and his sons cast them out from serving as priests of YHWH, and he appointed his own priests for the high places and for the satyrs, and for the calves which he had made. (II.Chr.11:14-15)

Even in this situation, some of the Levites may have stayed in Northern Israel: accordingly after the destruction of Samaria "the king of Assyria commanded,

'Send there one of the priests whom you carried away thence: and let him go and dwell there, and teach them the law of the god of the land.'

So one of the priests whom they had carried away from Samaria came and dwelt in Bethel, and taught them how they should fear YHWH." (II.Ki.17:27-28.

ii. The Levites and the ark of the covenant.

In relation to the ark of the covenant, the Levites played a prominent role:

Josh.3:3, (Joshua) commanded the people,

"When you see the ark of the covenant of YHWH your God being carried by the Levitical priests, then you shall set out from your place and follow it."

Josh.8:8, All Israel stood on opposite sides of the ark before the Levitical priests who carried the ark of the Covenant of YHWH, half of them in front of Mount Gerazim and half of them in front of Mount Ebal, as Moses the servant of YHWH had commanded at the first, that they should bless the people of Israel.

In the book of Deuteronomy we find descriptions of the function of the Levites: the most revealing texts are Dt.10:8 and Dt.31:9, 25f.

Dt.10:8, YHWH set apart the tribe of Levi to carry the ark of the covenant of YHWH, to stand before YHWH to minister to Him and to bless in His name, to this day.

Dt.31:9, And Moses wrote this law, and gave it to the priests the sons of Levi, who carried the ark of the covenant of YHWH, and to all the elders of Israel - that their children may hear and learn to fear YHWH your God, as long as you live in the land which you are going over ~~the~~ Jordan to possess.

Dt.31:25f, Moses commanded the Levites who carried the ark of the covenant of YHWH, "Take this book of the Law, and put it by the side of the ark of the covenant of YHWH your God, that it may be there for a witness against you."

The song of Moses (Dt.32:1-43) may have been preserved by the group of Levites who carried the ark of the covenant of YHWH. They preserved the "Kadesh" tradition (Dt.32:51) and the Sinai-tradition (Dt.31:24f) and "the tradition of crossing Jordan." (Dt.32:47)

Such a group of Levites must have been the Levites in Northern Israel.

According to the Chronicler, the Levites played a prominent role in relation to the ark of the covenant of YHWH in the time of David (I.Chr.15:2,15) and Solomon (II.Chr.5:4).

I.Chr.15:2, Then David said, "No one but the Levites may carry the ark of God, for YHWH chose them to carry the ark of YHWH and to minister for Him for ever."

15:15, And the Levites carried the ark of God upon their shoulders with the poles, as Moses had commanded according to the word of YHWH.

It would seem valid to conclude, therefore, that some group of Levites in Northern Israel played a continuing role in the Kadesh and Sinai tradition, and in relation to the ark of the covenant of YHWH.

What kind of circle was there behind the covenant-Rib tradition?

I would like to propose that it was the "sons of Asaph" (בְּנֵי-אַסָּף) who preserved and transmitted the Asaph-Psalms.

a. A group of Levites, consecrated to YHWH.

Asaph and the people of Asaph are Levites (I.Chr.15:17f, 6:39-43). According to the biblical tradition, the Levites took an important role in the religious crisis connected with the incident of the golden calf at Sinai/Horeb. (Ex.32:25-29)

Moses said, "Who is on YHWH's side? Come to me."

And all the sons of Levi (כָּל-בְּנֵי לֵוִי) gathered (אָסְפוּ) themselves together to him.

And the sons of Levi did according to the word of Moses:

And Moses said, "Today you have consecrated yourselves to YHWH."

(מִלֵּאךְ יָדְכֶם לַיהוָה) (Ex.32:26,28,29)

When Jeroboam I. made two golden calves and set them in Bethel and Dan, he also appointed priests from among all the people, who were not of the Levites (I.Ki.13:31). Then it is not difficult to suppose that the Levitical priests in Northern Israel challenged the apostasy of Baal-worship, stressing the YHWH-worship.

YHWH who brought (הֵעֵלָה) Israel out of Egypt.¹⁾

b. Prophetic character - prophets of YHWH.

In the tradition of Chronicles Asaph was called "the seer" (הַחֹזֶה) (II.Chr.29:30, II.Chr.35:15). - He who is now called a prophet was formerly called a seer. (I.Sam.9:9 : הַרְאָה)

In fact the Asaph-Psalms contain the characteristics of prophetic Psalms particularly in Ps.50;81.

"Sons" of Asaph under the direction of Asaph who prophesied, (הַנְּבִיאִים) under the direction of the king. (I.Chr.25:2)

In the genealogy of Gershon - Asaph of Levites, the name "Iddo" (יִדְדוֹ) occurs (I.Chr.6:6 MT.(ET21) II.Chr.29:12, cf. I.Chr.15:17f 6:39-43 ET). He is called "a Seer" (II.Chr.9:29 12:15, עֹדֵן הַחֹזֶה (יִעֲדִי) and a "Prophet" (II.Chr.13:22, הַנְּבִיאַת עֹדֵן)

1) See further p. 282-284.

In II.Chr.20:14f, we read that "The Spirit of YHWH came upon Jehaziel - a Levite of the sons of Asaph." (מִן־בְּנֵי אָסָף)

Jehaziel then made an utterance which is markedly prophetic in style:

Hearken -: thus says YHWH to you,

"Fear not, and be not dismayed at this great multitude."

It seems to me that the 'sons of Asaph' (מִן־בְּנֵי אָסָף) probably preserved this prophetic role among the Levites.

c. The relation with the covenant.

According to the biblical tradition, Asaph was selected by the Levites to lead the music when David brought up the Ark (of the covenant) to Jerusalem with Heman, and Ethan (I.Chr.15:16-19).

Asaph was appointed by David to preside over the services of praise and thanksgiving in the Tent where the Ark was placed (I.Chr.16:4-7,37).

So David left Asaph and his brethren there before the ark of the covenant of YHWH to minister continually before the ark as each day required. (I.Chr.16:37)

At the time of Hezekiah.(II.Ki.18 II.Chr.29f)

Hezekiah instituted a religious reform according to the mosaic tradition:

He (Hezekiah) trusted in YHWH the God of Israel - .

He held fast to YHWH ; he did not depart from following Him, but kept the commandments which YHWH commanded Moses. (II.Ki.18:5,6)

In Hezekiah's reign, Joah the son of Asaph, the recorder seems to have taken an important role (II.Ki.18:18, 26f, 37).

According to the Chronicler (II.Chr.29f),

In the first year of his reign, he (Hezekiah) said:

"Hear me, Levites! -

Now it is in my heart to make a covenant with YHWH the God of Israel, that His fierce anger may turn away from us." (vv.5,10)

Then the Levites arose: among them the sons of Asaph (Zechariah and Mattaniah) took part in the covenantal service. (vv.12-13)

Hezekiah the king and the princes commanded the Levites to sing praises to YHWH with the words of David and of Asaph the seer. And they sang praises with gladness, and they bowed down and worshipped.

Then Hezekiah said, "You have now consecrated yourselves to YHWH."
(מִלֵּאתָם יָדְכֶם לַיהוָה) (II.Chr.29:29,30,31)

This is in parallel with Ex.32:29 where the sons of Levi took the side of YHWH and Moses against the apostasy.

Moreover Hezekiah kept the passover to YHWH the God of Israel, and they took their accustomed posts according to the law of Moses (II.Chr.30:1f,16).

In the religious reform of Hezekiah when the Mosiac covenant-tradition was restored, the sons of Asaph played an important role.

At the time of Josiah (II.Ki.22-23, II.Chr.34-35)

The king (Josiah) went up to the house of YHWH and with him all the men of Judah and all the inhabitants of Jerusalem, and the priests and the prophets, all the people; and he read in their hearing all the words of the book of the covenant which had been found in the house of YHWH.

The King made a covenant before YHWH -
and all the people joined in the covenant. (II.Ki.23:2-3)

According to the Chronicler Levites played a part in this (Deuteronomic) reformation: It describes "the priests and the Levites" (II.Chr.34:30), which is a parallel passage with II.Ki.23:2.

- 1) In comparison between II.Ki.23 2 and II Chr.34:30, it must be noticed that "the prophets" is altered to the term "Levites" in the close-parallel passage.

A. Welch, Prophet and Priest in Old Israel, p.130, n.2.

He has drawn upon the implications of I.Chr.25:1-6 for the idea of cultic prophets.

A.R. Johnson, The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel, p.71-72.

He mentions this as evidence for the existence of cultic prophets.

The king Josiah said to the Levites who taught all Israel and who were holy to YHWH,
 "Put the holy ark in the house which Solomon, the son of David, king of Israel, built:-
 Now serve YHWH your God and His people Israel -
 Sanctify yourselves (קדשו) and prepare for your brethren to do according to the word of YHWH by Moses." (II.Chr.35:3,6)

The king Josiah kept a passover to YHWH in which the sons of Asaph, the singers, were in their place (II.Chr.35:15).

Moreover, the Chronicler describes that

In the eighteenth year of his reign, when he (Josiah) had purged the land and the house, he sent Shaphan the son of Azaliah, and Maaseiah the governor of the city and Joah the son of Joahaz, the recorder, to repair the house of YHWH his God. (II.Chr.34:8)

This person Joah might be a Levite of the sons of Asaph in a similar description with II.Ki.18:18,37.

In the deuteronomic reformation of Josiah when the Mosaic covenant-tradition was restored, the sons of Asaph are again prominent.

In the Asaph-Psalms indeed, the covenant is emphasized (Ps.50:5, 16, 78:10,37, 106:45) and passages corresponding to the Sinai covenant tradition (Ex.10:3-8) occur in Ps.81:8-11.

d. The relation with the covenant history.

In II.Ki.18:18,37, the son of Asaph "Joah" (יואח בן-אסף)¹⁾ was the recorder (המזכיר) in the reign of king Hezekiah (cf.Is.36:3,22). His office seems to be that of "Chronicler,"²⁾ to record the historical events in connection with the history of salvation and judgement.

Among the Psalms only the Asaph-Psalms contain historical Psalms (Ps.78:105 106).³⁾

In the Asaph-Psalms we can find confirmation of the thesis that the "sons of Asaph" preserved the Sinai covenant tradition and covenant Rib tradition, and transmitted them down through the centuries.⁴⁾

1) LXX. IV Ki.18:18, Ἰωᾶς ὁ υἱὸς Σαφᾶρ ὁ ἀναμνηστὴς.

Asaph is replaced with "Σαφᾶρ" (𐤒𐤑𐤍 : Judge) in LXX (4.Ki.18:18) In Is.36:3,22, which is parallel with 2.Ki.18:18, MT is the same as LXX.

2) J.R. Lumby, The second book of the Kings, Camb.B., 1891, p.189.

3) H. Gunkel & J. Begrich Einleitung in die Psalmen, 1933.

A.R. Johnson, 'The Psalms', in OTMS, 1951, pp.162-207.

H. Gunkel classified them as "Die Legende" (Sacred Legend).
Pss.78 105, 106 (pp.323-324).

4) cf. E.W. Nicholson, Deuteronomy and Tradition, Oxford, 1967, pp.73-82.

"One of the most notable recent problems concerns the circles of the background of Hosea's preaching in relation to the origin of Deuteronomy": whether it involves the Levites in Northern Israel, in Southern Israel, or the prophetic circles in Northern Israel.

CHAPTER FIVE

=====

Theological Study of Jeremiah Chapter 2Prophetic Theology (of Covenant-Rib) in Jeremiah Ch.2A. YHWH - The God of Israel

What is the characteristic conception of God in Jeremiah ch.2? In Jeremiah ch.2 "YHWH" (יהוה)¹⁾ occurs very often as the name of the God of Israel (vv. 1,2,3,3,4,5,6,8,9,12,17,19,19,22,29,31,37) and in certain variant forms.²⁾

Jeremiah ch.2 describes YHWH as the God who acts in the salvation history - delivering Israel from Egypt, leading them in the wilderness and bringing them into YHWH's land (vv. 6-7), planting them as a genuine seed (v. 21) - and as the living God in contrast with other gods which are "no-god".

- 1) O. Eissfeldt, "Baalsamen und Jahwe", ZAW 57, 1939, pp.1-31, esp.31.
G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol. 1, p. 180.

The Divine name "YHWH" is the special name of the "God of Israel": which O. Eissfeldt calls a "revelatio specialis" (p.31) and von Rad a "relative and efficacious" name (p.180).

- i. On the revelation of the name of God (YHWH), there are countless studies of the meaning of YHWH.
Th.C. Vriezen "Ehje aser ehje" in Berthelet-Festschrift pp.498-512. An outline of Old Testament Theology, Oxford, 1962 pp.171,195.
S. Mowinckel "The Name of the God of Moses", HUCA 32, 1961, pp.121-133.
B. Albrektson, "On the Syntax of יהוה אלהינו in Exodus 3:14", in D.W. Thomas-Festschrift Words and Meanings, pp. 15-28.
G.J. Botterweck, Gott Erkennen, Bonn 1951 esp. pp.23-29.
M. Noth, Exodus, OTL, pp. 44-45.
R. de Vaux, "The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH" Davies-Festschrift, pp. 48-75.

- ii. On the covenant God: YHWH is characterized as the covenant God in the covenant relation with Israel (His covenant people) in the Sinai covenant tradition (Ex.19: 3-8).

"YHWH as the "One from Sinai" (Jud. 5:5, Dt. 33:1).

- O. Procksch Theologie des Alten Testament, 1950.
W. Eichrodt, Theology of the Old Testament, Vol.1, 1961.
R. Davidson The Old Testament, pp. 40-58.

- 2) In Jeremiah ch.2, variations of the name of YHWH occur as follows: .../

YHWH reveals Himself as the Speaker addressing Israel in the "I and You" form in personal and covenantal communion.

In Jeremiah ch.2 several types of prophetic formula occur in combination with the name of YHWH.¹⁾

- "The word of YHWH came to me" (v. 1)
- "Hear the word of YHWH" (v. 4)
- "Thus says YHWH" (vv. 2,5)
- "The oracle of YHWH" (vv. 3,19 22,29)

These are all indications that YHWH speaks to Jeremiah, and to Israel by His messenger (the prophet Jeremiah).

In Jeremiah ch.2, most of the prophetic poetry is written in the "I and You" style of the covenant message form. YHWH is the real living Speaker in the personal communion with the prophet and Israel by the communication of the word of God.

At the same time YHWH is the creator of the life of Israel as the people of YHWH, when they respond to YHWH in faithfulness (Ex. 19:3-8).

So Jeremiah proclaimed - "Hear the word of YHWH" (v.4). When they do not listen to the word of YHWH and do not obey Him, YHWH speaks judgement to them in the covenant Rib form (Jer.2, v.19,35).²⁾

.../vv.17,19, in MT.	יהוה אלהיך	in LXX. κύριος ὁ θεός σου.
v. 19, in MT.	צבאות יהוה אדני	in LXX. κύριος ὁ θεός σου.
V. 22, in MT.	יהוה אדני	in LXX. κύριος.

1) See further pp. 79, 134-145.

2) YHWH's address to Israel which is described in the prophetic poetry style and the covenant Rib form is common to Dt.³² Hosea, Asaph-Psalms (50, cf.81) and Jer.2. See further p.^{263ff.}

In Jeremiah ch.2 YHWH is mentioned as the God who remembers Israel:

'I remember for you (זָכַרְתִּי לְךָ) the loyalty of your youth
the love of your bridal days (v.2)'.

This particular usage of זָכַר here is rare in the Old Testament.

The verb זָכַר is used with YHWH as subject in the first person singular,¹⁾
with the preposition לְ²⁾ and in the I-thou style.

What is the meaning of this phrase (זָכַרְתִּי לְךָ)?³⁾

B.S. Childs explains it as follows:⁴⁾

By and large, the preposition maintains its basic meaning of aiming towards a goal. The emphasis falls on remembrance as an action directed toward someone rather than on the psychological experience of the subject.'

The memory of YHWH is directed toward Israel. The emphasis is here laid upon the personal relationship between YHWH and Israel.

- 1) The verb "zkr" with God as subject in the first person singular:
Lev.26:42,42,42,45, Is.43:25,26, Ez.16:60, Jer.2:2, 31:20 34, Hos.7:2.
(Lisowsky) - with לְ Jer.2:2, 31:34, Lev.26:45.
- 2) The verb occurs more than 20 times with the preposition (לְ):
 - a. in the imperative form (in the complaint intercessory prayer and 'confessions of Jeremiah').
Ps.105:8 111:5, 1.Chr.16:15, Ps.98:3, 79:8, 119:49,136:23, 137:7,
Neh.13:14,22, 31 5:19.
Intercessory prayer: Ex.32:13, Dt.9:27, Ps.132:1, 11.Chr.6:42.
Confession of Jeremiah: Jer.18:20.
 - b. In the finite form, the verb occurs several times with the preposition (לְ). Jer.2:2, Ps.106:45, Lev.26:45 (in affirmative)
Jer.31:34. (in negative)
- 3) H.J. Boecker, Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament, pp.106-110.
He argues that "לְ זָכַר" is a technical term (terminus technicus der Rechtssprache) of specific juridical meaning.
'Dabei hat das zkr le den konkreten Sinn: "Ich halte mir - um dich auf diese Weise zu verteidigen - vor Augen -"'. p.111.
- 4) B.S. Childs, Memory and Tradition in Israel, p.31.
He also follows Boecker, stating that
'The preposition has strong forensic overtones - . These passages (לְ זָכַר) (Jer.2:2, 31:34, Is.43:25) have in common the forensic usage of the verb', (p.32,p.41), in distinction from the covenant idea'(p.41f).
But these passages occur in the context of the covenant - new covenant (Jer.31:34) and covenant Rib (Jer.2:2).

When we examine the verb (zkr) used with God as subject "I", we find that its usage is three-fold.

- i. remembering their iniquity (Hos.7:2).
- ii. remembering their sin no more (Jer.31:34).
- iii. remembering the covenant with Israel (Lev.26:45, Jer.2:2).
- a. 'To remember their sins' (Hos.7:2, cf. Hos.8:13, 9:9, Jer.14:10.).

Hos.7:2, I remember all their evil works.

H.J. Boecker¹⁾ suggests that the idea of Mahweh as Judge lies at the root of the expression of 'to remember their sins'.

In prophetic judgement speech the verb (זָכַר) occurs in combination with expressions implying punishment (Hos.8:13 Jer.14:10): זָכַר!

B.S. Childs explains the meaning of the verb zkr:²⁾

'The verb zkr includes both the process of thought and the action. The parallelism of zkr with such verbs as qad indicates the objective character of the action comprehended in the verb'.

The phrase 'to remember their sins' indicates YHWH's judgement and punishment of His people Israel.

- b. 'To remember their sin no more' (Jer.31:34, cf. Is.43:25).

Jer.31:34, 'for I will forgive their iniquity
and I will remember their sin no more.'

The prophetic use of the verb 'remember' is described in the context of forgiveness in the New Covenant passage.

B.S. Childs explains:³⁾

'Jer.31:34 is a promise which stems out of the ancient tradition of covenant renewal at a festival.'

The phrase 'to remember their sin no more' indicates YHWH's promise of His merciful forgiveness of His people Israel.

1) H.J. Boecker, op.cit., p.110.

'Auch hier liegt wohl ursprünglich die Anschauung zugrunde, dass Jahwe als Richter gebeten wird -'

2) B.S. Childs, op.cit., p.33.

3) B.S. Childs, op.cit., p.41.

c. 'To remember the covenant with Israel'.

Jer. ch.2:2 exhibits similarities of expression with Lev.26:45, Ps.106:45 and Ex.16:60.

The covenant idea is common to them.

Lev.26:45 I will for their sake (לְהֵן) remember the covenant with their forefathers.

Ps.106:45, He (YHWH) remembered for their sake (לְהֵן) His covenant.

Ez.16:60, I will remember my covenant with you in the days of your youth. (נַעֲרֻתְךָ)

What is the characteristic of YHWH's remembering in Jer.2:2?

i. YHWH remembers Israel in the continuation of its history.

I do surely remember him still - (Jer.31:20)

YHWH's memory encompasses His entire relationship with His people.

ii. YHWH's remembering is directed to Israel, as His people.

I remember for you (Israel) (לְךָ) - (for your sake)¹⁾

YHWH's remembering has the selfsame purpose: for Israel's sake - that Israel may continue to be His people.

B.S. Childs suggests:

"Yahweh remembers in Israel's favour the devotion of her youth (Jer.2:2). This is not a nostalgic reflection of Yahweh's, but rather a reckoning of this earlier loyalty to Israel's account."²⁾

iii. YHWH's remembering encompasses judgement upon Israel for their sin, at the same time forgiveness of Israel's sin (Jer.31:34, Is.43:25) by His mercy and grace. This is derived from the covenant relationship between YHWH and His people.

iv. 'YHWH remembers Israel' is the basic root for the covenant Rib.

1) S. Talmon "The 'Desert Motif' in the Bible and in Qumran Literature", in Biblical Motifs, pp. 31-63.

He suggests the translation:

"I remember for thee" (better: I credit to you)" (p.53).

2) B.S. Childs op.cit., p.32.

3. YHWH who plants Israel

Jeremiah Ch.2 describes YHWH's three-fold act in salvation history:¹⁾

- i. Exodus (v.6), ii. Leading Israel in the wilderness (v.6),²⁾ iii. Bringing them into YHWH's land (v.7).

A characteristic description of YHWH's **saying** act occurs in the passage v.21 which presents YHWH as the God who plants Israel as a Sorek vine.

'I (אֲנִי) planted thee as a Sorek vine
wholly a genuine seed' (v.21).

The usage of "עָטַל"³⁾ here is unique in the Old Testament: the verb עָטַל is used with YHWH as subject in the first person (אֲנִי) in I-thou style and with the object Israel as a vine (שֹׂרֵק).⁴⁾

The act of YHWH is directed toward Israel. The emphasis falls on the act of YHWH (אֲנִי) and His personal relationship with His people. The following meanings will be found in this passage by consideration of the parallel texts in the Old Testament.

- a. It is YHWH Himself who plants Israel.
- b. The purpose is that Israel may live in YHWH's land.
- c. YHWH expects the fruits (response) of faithfulness to be manifested in Israel's life.

1) See further p. 368f.

2) See further p.335f. (in 'The Wilderness Motif in Jer.ch.2').

3) J. Wigngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed, p.31.

J: (2) Ex.15:17, Num.24:6.

Pre-Dt.(1) 2Sam.7:10.

Early Prophets, Ps.(4) Is.5:2, Am.9:15 Ps.44:3 80:9 (15).

Jer. (7) 2:21, 11:17, 12:2, 24:6, 32:41 42:10 45:4.

Ez. (1) 36:36

Chr. (1) 1Chr.17:9 (=2Sam.7:10).

Is. (1) Is.61:3.

4) The verb עָטַל occurs with the noun vine in the O.T.:

שֹׂרֵק : Is.5:2 Jer.2:21, גִּפְּתָן : Ps.80:9, cf. Jer.2:21.

The verb עָטַל occurs with the verb אָבִיל in Ex.15:17 (cf. Jer.2:7 and 21).

With the pronoun of the first person singular: .../

a. It is YHWH Himself who plants Israel.

The emphasis is laid upon YHWH's I (אֲנִי).¹⁾

It is I - not others but YHWH - who planted Israel as a Sorek vine.

It is the merciful act of YHWH: according to the Jeremianic tradition,

YHWH's planting Israel is interpreted as the faithful act of YHWH.

'I will plant them in this land
in faithfulness, with all my heart and all my soul'.
(Jer.32:41).

b. The purpose is that Israel may live in YHWH's land.

YHWH's mighty act of delivering Israel from Egypt has as its goal²⁾

Israel's settlement in YHWH's land.

'I brought you into the fruitful land' (Jer.2:7)
My land - My heritage (v.7b).

In Ex.15:17, the verb 'נָטַע' and 'אֶרְצִי' are parallel.

'Thou broughtest them in and didst plant them (תָּבֵאָם וְנָטַעְתָּם)
in the mount of Thy heritage.' (Ex.15:17)

The saving act of YHWH has the particular aim of planting Israel in

YHWH's land (אֶרְצִי), 'My heritage' (נַחֲלָתִי) (Jer.2:7)³⁾

c. YHWH expects fruits (response) of faithfulness.

YHWH's planting Israel has a particular purpose.

'He planted it with choice vines:
and he looked for it to yield grapes' (Is.5:2, cf. Jer.8:13).

YHWH looks for Israel's faithful response to YHWH in their way of life in YHWH's land. Thus YHWH's act of planting Israel is His faithful and merciful act, which is the continuation of His saving act.

1.../ Jer.2:21.
11.Sam.7:10, Ez.36:36, Jer.45:4 (Prose).

1) The similar usage of 'אֲנִי' occurs in Hosea;
Hosea 11:3, It was I (אֲנִי) who taught Ephraim to walk.
Hosea 2:10, It was I (אֲנִי) who gave her the grain, the wine -
cf. Hos.2:16, Jer.3:19.

2) See p. 178f., 355f.

3) The idea of YHWH's land is based on Ex.19:4,5b.

'for all the earth is mine' (cf. Lev.25:23)
'I brought you to myself' (Ex.19:4). .../

4. YHWH as Judge

E. Würthwein points out the relation between the Rib form (Anklagerede) and YHWH's appearing as Judge.¹⁾ C. Westermann accepts Würthwein's view that the prophetic judgement speeches are related to the speech of YHWH as Judge.²⁾

The description that YHWH is Judge and the One who judges the people of breaking covenant is common to Dt.32, Hosea and the Asaph-Psalms.³⁾

What does it mean that YHWH is Judge in Jeremiah Ch.2? In Jeremiah ch.2 YHWH is presented as the One who enters into controversy with Israel: "Behold, I will enter into judgement with thee" (v.35).⁴⁾

(הוֹנִי נִשְׁפָּט אִתְּךָ).

The usage of "נִשְׁפָּט" here is interesting: the verb "נִשְׁפָּט" is used with YHWH as subject in the "I-thou" style and with the preposition "אִתְּךָ".⁵⁾ YHWH's address is directed toward Israel - the indictment of Israel's sin. This passage (v.35) contains the following characteristics.

- a. YHWH's judgement is wrath against Israel's sin.
- b. YHWH's judgement is instructive for repentance.

 .../On 'My land, my heritage' cf. Jer.16:18 - it may be the interpretation of the Jeremianic tradition in Jer.2:7b.

- 1) E. Würthwein, "Der Ursprung der Prophetischen Gerichtsrede," ZTK 49, pp.19-52, esp.p.15.
- 2) C. Westermann, Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech, p.80.
- 3) Dt.32:36, 41, Hos.5:1, Ps.50:6, Ps.75:8, 82:1-8.
See further p.257,275 (Appendix B :Covenant Rib form).
- 4) BDB and KBL: Niph of נִשְׁפָּט - "enter into controversy, plead; with 'אִתְּךָ' (with) 1.Sam.12:7, Jer.2:35 Ez.17:20, 20:35,36,36, 38:22.
S.R. Driver, The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah, p.13
He translates it "Behold, I will enter into judgement with thee."
A. Leslie, Jeremiah, p.34.
He translates: "Lo, I am about to enter into controversy with you."
W. Rudolph and A. Weiser, translate as follows:
"Siehe ich gehe ins Gericht mit dir."
- 5) On "אִתְּךָ" see further p.40.

a. YHWH's wrath against unfaithful Israel's sin.

In the book of Jeremiah 'YHWH as Judge' is repeatedly linked with the phrase 'YHWH's wrath' (אָר)¹⁾ against Israel's sin. YHWH's judgement is a token of His communion with His people Israel.

Th.C. Vriezen explains:

"The prophets always attempt to make it clear in their testimony that the punishments inflicted by God completely fit the sins of the people. -

At any rate God's judgement is not a sign of unwillingness, but rather of anger: God's holiness is a consuming fire and cannot bear the existence of sin."²⁾

In Jeremiah ch.2 Jeremiah declares that Israel has committed sins.

'Yet you say, "I am innocent:

Surely His anger is turned away from me".

Behold, I will enter into judgement with you

because you say "I have not sinned."' (Jer.2:35)

Only when Israel returned to YHWH (repented: נָחַם), confessing in faith

"We have sinned"³⁾ - we will serve thee"⁴⁾, would Israel be able to hear the word of YHWH:

'I will heal their apostasy

I will love them freely,

for My anger has turned away from them' (Hos.14:5).

But Israel committed two sins (Jer.2:13) - moreover, they killed the poor innocent (Jer.2:34). Even so they said:

'I am innocent - I have not sinned'.

Thus Israel provoked YHWH with their faithlessness and apostasy. YHWH's judgement and His anger are based on the personal communion between YHWH as Father and Israel as His son - rebellious son.

1) אָר : in the book of Jeremiah: 2:35 4:8,26, 7:20, 10:24, 12:13, 15:14,15, 17:4, 18:23, 21:5, 23:20, 36:7, 25:37,38, 30:24 32:31,37, 33:5, 42:19, 44:6, 49:37, 51:45, 52:3. (Lisowsky)

2) Th.C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, pp.274-5.

3) In the covenant renewal: Israel confessed - "We have sinned": ($\text{נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ$) (1.Sam.12:10, 19, Jud.10:15,10, 1.Sam.7:6).

4) "We will serve Thee" (YHWH) - Josh.24:18,21,24, 1.Sam.12:10, (20 24)

b. YHWH's judgement is instructive for repentance.

In the Book of Jeremiah YHWH's judgement is connected with YHWH's discipline (מַּדְּרֹס). This concept of 'discipline' comprises Jeremiah's characteristic understanding of YHWH's judgement. (מַּשְׁפָּט)

'I will chasten you with judgement' (Jer.30:11b)=46:28). (וְיִסְרֹתֶיךָ)

'Correct (יִסֵּר) me (us), O YHWH!
but with justice (בְּמִשְׁפָּט)
not in anger. (Jer.10:24)

On the other hand chastisement is set in parallelism with repentance (שׁוּבוּ) in the book of Jeremiah (5:3, 31:18).

'they refused to receive discipline (מַּדְּרֹס)
- they have refused to repent (שׁוּבוּ)'. (Jer.5:3).

(Thou hast chastised me, and I was chastised. (יִסֵּר)
Bring me back that I may return (to thee) (שׁוּבוּ)'. Jer.31:18.

In this context YHWH's judgement has the particular purpose that Israel may receive discipline and at the same time repent and return to YHWH.

Jer.2:30, 'In vain I smote your children
They did not receive discipline'²⁾ (מַּדְּרֹס).

This passage indicates that YHWH's judgement has as its aim that Israel might receive discipline (מַּדְּרֹס). But they did not.

After YHWH's statement that he will bring them into judgement, (Jer.2:35), the call for repentance (שׁוּבוּ מַשְׁבָּה) follows in Jer.3.

The judgement speech of Jeremiah is "not destructive but instructive."³⁾
What YHWH seeks to obtain by judgement is the sinner's return to YHWH and the possibility of a new life (שׁוּבוּ).⁴⁾

1) Lisowsky: מַּדְּרֹס : Jer.2:30, 7:28, 17:23, 32:33, 35:13, 5:3, 30:14, 10:8. Hos.5:2, Ps.50:17.
יִסֵּר : Jer.6:8, 31:18, 2:19, 10:24, 30:11, 46:28, 31:18. Hos.10:10, 7:12,15.

2) S.R. Driver, An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament, p.276. He mentions the phrase "to receive correction" as one of the "Expressions characteristic of Jeremiah." 2:30, 5:3, 7:28, 32:33, 35:13. (in the poetry: 2:30, 5:3).

3) cf. L. Köhler, Old Testament Theology, p.223.
'Jeremiah, properly evaluated, is a prophet of instructive grace and not of destructive judgement.'

4) cf. E. Jacob, Theology of the Old Testament, p.289.
Concerning ' שׁוּבוּ ':
W.L.Molladay, The Root Šbh in the Old Testament, 1958.

B. יָדַע in Jeremiah Ch2.

In Jeremiah ch.2 there are some characteristic usages of 'יָדַע' which we may classify as follows:

1. יָדַע - YHWH: in the negative form.

Jer.2:8, 'Those who handled the law did not know Me'.

2. יָדַע in the imperative form with a 'כִּי' clause.

Jer.2:19, 'So (כִּי) know and see how bitterly evil it is that you have forsaken YHWH, your God!'.

3. יָדַע in the imperative form with an interrogative.

Jer.2:23, 'See your way in the valley,
know what (מָה) you have done!'.

In Jer.2:8 it indicates the relationship between YHWH and the religious leaders in negative form. In Jer.2:19 and 23 it refers to the relationship between YHWH and His people in an imperative form.

- 1) For another classification of יָדַע : (See Appendix A)
E. Baumann, "יָדַע and seine Derivate," ZAW 28, 1908, pp.22-41, 110-143.
J. Botterweck, Gott Erkennen, im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments, Bonn, 1951, pp.11-17.
- 2) Another case of 'יָדַע' may be represented by the LXX in Jer.2:16.
MT. (קָדַד) יָדַע לָרֶגֶל LXX. ἔγνωσαν σε
BDB derives יָדַע לָרֶגֶל from 'רָעָה' 'pasture' in the sense of 'crop, strip, i.e. devastate' (p.945).
J. Bright translates: 'they too have cracked your skull. (יָדַע לָרֶגֶל).
W. Rudolph reads: 'werden dir den Scheitel kahlscheren' (יָדַע לָרֶגֶל).
with Duhm and Cornill: (they lay bare, i.e. shave).
D.W. Thomas, "The Root יָדַע in Hebrew, II", JTS 36, 1935, pp.409-412.
He suggests that Hebrew יָדַע (Arabic عَدَّ) can mean 'to be still, quiet, at rest' and 'to be submissive, humiliated'.
"The translation (Jer.2:16) will then run: 'caused thee to be submissive (humiliated thee) as to the crown of the head', i.e. caused thy head to hang in shameful submission" (p.411).
J.A. Emerton, "A Consideration of Some Alleged Meanings of יָדַע in Hebrew", JSS 15, 1970, pp.145-180.
He supports Prof. D.W. Thomas's theory on this matter, saying:
"On the whole, Thomas's suggestion about the meanings of יָדַע seemed to be the most satisfactory working hypothesis. -" (p.179)
But he continues: "the following verses (Jer.2:16, etc) must be excluded from the argument because the text is doubtful." (p.171)

1. Some Problems connected with the phrase
'to know YHWH' in the Old Testament

The Hebrew verb 'Yada' (to know) is a peculiarly flexible word used in a broad sense.¹⁾

J. Pedersen pointed out the following features of 'Yada' in Old Testament thought:²⁾

'the knowledge is the appropriation, the reception into the soul. It is not an abstract recognition or a perception of details, but an appropriation of the totality, and, first and foremost, of its main features. Therefore, the knowledge of a thing, a man, or whatever else is identical with intimacy, friendship, fellow-feeling.'

J. Pedersen's contribution is to make clear "that a totality concept of the soul was basic to Israel's thought (knowledge) structure."

1) Concerning the root 'Yada'

BDB lexicon gives a reference to the Assyrian word 'idu' (know).

K-B lexicon mentions the Ugaritic word 'yd' and Akkadian 'idu'.

D.W. Thomas, "The Root יד in Hebrew, I." JTS 35, 1934 pp.298-306.

II. JTS 36, 1935, pp.409-412.

"More Notes on the Root יד in Hebrew," JTS 38, 1937, p.404f.

D.W. Thomas suggests another possibility for the derivation of the root 'יד' (Arabic ساء means 'to become still, quiet, at rest').

H.B. Huffmon, "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada," BASOR 181 1966. pp.31-37.

"A Further Note on the Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada " BASOR 184, 1966, pp.36-38.

Recently H.B. Huffmon has argued that "a technical usage of Hittite "sak" and Akkadian 'idu' (know) in international treaties provides the background for the understanding of Hebrew 'Yada'.

2) J. Pedersen, Israel. its Life and Culture, I-II, 1926, Copenhagen p.109.

J. Barr criticises Pedersen's method, cf: The Semantics of Biblical Language, Oxford 1961, p.30f.

B.S. Childs recognises Pedersen's contribution in reconstructing the 'primitive Mentality and the totality of Hebrew thought'.

B.S. Childs op.cit., SBT 37, 1962 pp.17-30.

In the Old Testament, 'knowledge' means living in a close relationship with something or somebody, "communion".¹⁾ The communion exists as a spiritual knowledge in a special way because of the covenant between YHWH and Israel.

S. Mowinckel rightly said, 'Kein Bund ohne gegenseitiges Erkennen!'.²⁾

YHWH reveals Himself as God of Israel to His people through His mighty acts. Israel (as the people of YHWH) responds to YHWH by showing covenant-virtue (faithfulness, covenant-loyalty), saying,

'we will serve YHWH' (Josh.24:18,21,24: repeated three times), and 'All the words which YHWH has spoken we will do' (Ex.19:7 24:3,2). In the book of Jeremiah there are two emphatic points of view concerning 'to know YHWH'.³⁾ One is the covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel, and the other is Israel's response to YHWH in their real life as the people of YHWH.

- 1. 24:7. 'I will give them a heart to know that I am YHWH; and they shall be My people and I will be their God.
- 31:34. 'I will be their God, and they shall be My people. - For they shall all know Me.
- 2. 22:15,16. 'Did not your father eat and drink and do justice and righteousness? Then it was well with him. He judged the cause of the poor and needy; then it was well. Is not this to know Me? says YHWH.

1) Th.C. Vriezen, An Outline of Old Testament Theology, p.133.

2) S. Mowinckel, Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den Alttestamentlichen Profeten, 1941, pp.6-7.

3) On the usage of 'Y7' (to know) in the book of Jeremiah, Appendix A, pp. 326-327.

There has been considerable discussion about the meaning of 'to know YHWH' (יָדָע), or the 'knowledge of God'.¹⁾ We cannot deny that there are various connotations of the term 'to know YHWH' in the Old Testament.

a. 'to know YHWH' indicates the knowledge of YHWH who acts in history - YHWH's saving activity in history. (Jer.2:6-7, Hos.13:4)

Throughout the course of history YHWH intervenes at the moments of crisis: He leads His people, saving as well as judging them. The Prophets proclaim the mighty acts of YHWH, that His people might know YHWH, and obey Him.

b. 'to know YHWH' indicates the personal communion between YHWH and Israel which means that they obey YHWH, follow Him, serve Him, and do what He has spoken. In the book of Hosea and Jeremiah this communion is expressed in the marriage image. (Hos.2 Jer 2:2).

c. 'to know YHWH' indicates the community's response²⁾ to YHWH in their living out the covenant-virtues in their community life. (Jer.22:15,16,31:34, Hos.2:22, 4:1-2).

1) E. Baumann, "יָדָע und Seine Derivate," ZAW 28, 1908, pp.110-143.

"Wissen um Gott bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie?"
EvTh 15, 1955, pp.416-425.

He emphasises the marriage-relationship between YHWH and his people Israel in the usage of 'יָדָע', indicating 'korrekten Verkehr mit Yahwe' having 'Respekt, Gehorsam, und Vertrauen'.

H.W. Wolff, "Wissen um Gott bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie," EvTh 12, 1952-3, p.533-554.

"Erkenntnis Gottes im A.T.," EvTh 15, 1955, p.429f.

He argues that the expression 'knowledge of God' in Hosea designates specifically a knowledge of the Sinai covenant with its twofold aspect of salvation history and covenant law.

Botterweck J., Gott Erkennen: im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments 1951 Bonn.

He explains that 'to know God' is the expression of 'Frommigkeit', indicating an 'Ausdruck des praktischen Glaubens der Israeliten', and 'echten Glauben und wahrer Frommigkeit'. (p.59).

J.L. McKenzie, "Knowledge of God in Hosea," JBL 74, 1955, pp.22-27.

He explains that 'knowledge of God', being derived from 'to know YHWH' means 'traditional knowledge of Hebrew covenant virtue'.

2)cf N.W. Porteous, "The O.T. and some theological Thought-Forms", pp.31-46, in Living the Mystery, Oxford, 1967.

"Wolff, following Noth, does try to separate the proclamation of the acts of God from the community response, whereas 'We must take them together' (p.43).

2. יָדָעָה לֹא in the covenant Rib form

The word יָדָעָה in Jeremiah ch.2 occurs in the covenant Rib form (cf. Deut.32:17, Hos.4:1f).

a. יָדָעָה לֹא in the negative: (Jer.2:8).

We must consider the meanings of יָדָעָה לֹא in Jer.2:8 in the context of the YHWH's condemnation of the religious leaders and the reason for the Rib of YHWH against the apostasy of Israel.

i. The condemnation of the leaders.

v.8, 'The priests did not ask "Where is YHWH?"
Those who handled the law¹⁾ did not know Me,²⁾
The rulers rebelled against Me,
The prophets prophesied by Baal,
So they followed No-Profit.'

The phrase 'Not to know YHWH' occurs in parallelism with the other phrases in v.8 and as the centre point of the condemnation of the leaders.

'Not to know YHWH' may be understood in this context, as:

1. "They did not ask "Where is YHWH?" - they did not proclaim YHWH who acts in the salvation history (vv.6-7a).
2. "They rebelled against YHWH" - breaking the covenant-relation with YHWH and forsaking Him (v.13).
3. "They prophesied by Baal" - they were apostate, following the cult of Baal and serving him.

1) On "תַּפְשֵׁי הַתּוֹרָה"

W. Rudolph, Jeremia, HAT, p.12

He explains that it is "nicht eine zweite Gruppe, sondern ebenfalls die Priester als die Verwalter der Tora".

J.P. Hyatt, "Torah in the book of Jeremiah", JBL 69, 1941, pp.381-396, esp.386. "Jeremiah", IB 5, p.814.

He translates it as "those who are skilled in the Torah" (p.386 in JBL 60) i.e., "those who were skilled in interpreting and administering the law, such as that in Deuteronomy, a subdivision of the priesthood and the predecessors of the later scribes" (p.814 in IB 5).

A. Bentzen, Introduction to the Old Testament, Vol.I, p.216.

He suggests the reference to "apparently a special class of 'lawyers'".

2) On 'לֹא יָדָעָה'

E. Baumann, "יָדָעָה und seine Derivate", ZAW 28, 1908, p.132.

He interprets: "they have no "korrekten Verkehr mit Yahwe".

J. Botterweck, op.cit., p.59. He comments: "Es fehlte ihnen nicht 'an Erkenntnis vom Wesen Jahwes' (P.Volz), sondern an echtem Glauben und wahrer Frommigkeit".

The religious leaders are responsible for the sin of the people.

The people followed 'Emptiness'
and became 'empty' (v.5)

- they followed No-profit (v.8b)

- My people changed His Glory for No-Profit (v.11b).

9:2 'Falsehood and not-truth has grown strong in the land,
for they proceed from evil to evil,
and they do not know Me'.

Thus Jeremiah refers to their sin: lie (שקר), no-truth (לא אמרנה),
and evil (רע), and then 'not to know YHWH' as the all-inclusive
expression of their rebellion against YHWH and of their breaking the
covenant relationship.

The sin of Israel arises because of the sin of the religious leaders.

In the book of Jeremiah the stereotyped condemnation occurs:

'From the least to the greatest of them
every one is greedy for unjust gain;
and from prophet to priest,
every one deals falsely' (6:13, 8:10).

In the climax of the conflict between Jeremiah and the false prophets,¹⁾
Jeremiah said to Hananiah, 'you have made this people trust in a lie.' (28:15)

The religious leaders do not know YHWH, thus the people of Israel do
not know YHWH. Therefore Jeremiah attacked the religious leaders and
condemned them.

1) In LXX the word 'false prophets' (ψευδοπροφῆται) occurs very often:
6:13, 33:7,8,11,26, 34:9, 35:1, 36:1. On the other hand, in the
M.T. only 'prophet' (הַנְּבִיאִים) occurs in these contexts. (MT.6:13,
26:7,8,11,26, 27:9, 28:1, 29:1.

Concerning the 'false prophets':

G.von Rad, "Die falschen Propheten," ZAW 51, 1933 pp.109-120.

G. Quell, Wahre und falsche Propheten, 1952

van der Woude, "Micah in Dispute with the pseudo-prophets", VT 19, 1969,
pp. 244-260.

On 'falsehood':

Th.W. Overholt, 'The Threat of Falsehood, SBT, London, 1970.

ii. The reason for the 'Rib of YHWH' against Israel's apostasy.

a. The term 'not know Me' is mentioned not only in the condemnation of the leaders (v.8) but also as the reason for YHWH's Rib against Israel's apostasy (v.9).

v.9, Therefore (לֹכֵן), I must bring this charge (אָרִיב) against you, against your descendants I will bring this charge (אָרִיב).

It is a characteristic of Jeremiah's prophetic speech form that he mentions 'not know YHWH' as a reason for the judgement of YHWH which is written in the 'לֹכֵן' form.¹⁾ In the prophetic speech of Jeremiah, whenever 'not know YHWH' is proclaimed, a judgement-speech in the 'לֹכֵן or על-כן' form follows: -

5:4b, They (the poor) do not know the way of YHWH,
the law of their God.

6, Therefore (על-כן) a lion from the forest shall slay
them, a wolf from the desert shall destroy them -
because their transgressions are many
their apostasies are great.

8:7b, But My people know not the ordinance of YHWH.

9b, Lo, they have rejected the word of YHWH.

10, Therefore (לֹכֵן) I will give their wives to others
and their fields to conquerors.

9:2c, For they (my people) proceed from evil to evil,
and they do not know Me, says YHWH.

5, Heaping oppression upon oppression,
and deceit upon deceit,
they refuse to know Me, says YHWH.

6, Therefore (לֹכֵן) thus says YHWH of hosts,
"Behold, I will refine them and test them,
for what else can I do, because of My people?"

8, Shall I not punish them for these things?" says YHWH.

1) On the 'לֹכֵן' form:

H.W.Wolff, "Die Begründung der prophetischen Heils- und Unheils-sprüche", ZAW 52, 1934, pp. 1-22, in G.S.A.T. 1964, pp. 9-35.
He describes the לֹכֵן form as introducing a threat which serves to confirm the basic declaratory sentence in which the charge is made.

K.Koch, The Growth of the Biblical Tradition, 1969, pp. 210-2.
He calls 'לֹכֵן' form as prediction of disaster, or threat.

Note: 'לֹכֵן' form does not occur in Deuteronomy.

'Shall I not punish them for these things?
the oracle of YHWH
shall I not avenge myself on a nation such as this?'

This is the stereotyped form of judgement speech in Jeremiah:(5:9, 5:29, 9:8)

'Not to know YHWH' (2:8, 4:22 5:4, 9:2, 9:5) is the ultimate and total reason for the judgement of YHWH against the rebellious and apostate people. Then the 'Rib of YHWH' arises and YHWH the covenant God does not fail to condemn Israel His covenant people.

b. The Expressions of Apostasy.

In Jeremiah ch.2 there are many expressions for apostate gods.

No-Profit (2:8, 11), No-gods (2:11), Emptiness (2:5),
Baal and Baals (vv.8,23), strangers (v.25),
your gods that you made for yourself (v.28),
tree and stone (v.27).

These names of apostate gods are described comprehensively as 'other gods whom you knew not' (7:9, 19:4, 44:3, cf. Dt.32:17).

In the book of Jeremiah ch.2 'לֹא יָדָעוּ אֶת יְהוָה' (not to know YHWH) occurs therefore, in the Rib of YHWH condemning the religious leaders, and in particular in the judgement speech form with 'לֹא יָדָעוּ', as the reason of YHWH's judgement against apostate Israel.

'לֹא יָדָעוּ אֶת יְהוָה' indicates the breaking of the covenant relation between YHWH and His people, their failure to respond to YHWH, in their community life.

In Jeremiah ch.2 'Yada' occurs twice in the imperative form.

Jer.2:19. So (ki) know and see how bitterly evil it is that
you have forsaken YHWH your God.

2:23. See your way in the Valley,
know what you have done!

a. YHWH's demand for the faithful response of Israel.

This imperative 'know!' indicates that YHWH requires the faithful response of His people.

The term 'know!' here occurs with 'see!'. According to the classical usage of 'see' (ḥāṣ) in Ex.19:4, the term is particularly connected with the motif of the covenant-witness.¹⁾

"You have seen what I did to the Egyptians
and how I bore you on eagles' wings
and brought you to myself."

'See! and know!' thus YHWH is calling Israel as witness in YHWH's covenant
Rib. (Jer.2:23,19).

b. YHWH's calling Israel to repentance.

Jeremiah dictated these prophetic speeches to his disciple Baruch with the particular purpose that the people might repent of their sin (36:3,7). The imperative form 'See and know' was proclaimed for the particular purpose of inducing Israel's repentance, that they might "know how bitterly evil it is that they have forsaken YHWH." (Jer.2:19)

"know what they have done in the valley" (cf.Jer.2:23).

Only when the people of Israel obeyed YHWH's demand for faithful response, would they be the people of YHWH.

Note: The similar usage occurs in Ex.33:12-17.

v.12. Consider (ḥāṣ)

" הוֹדַעְתִּיךָ " - " יִדְעַתִּיךָ "

v.16. in what way will it ever be known -

1) cf. Josh.24:7.

1.Sam.12:16,17.

Appendix A. יד' in the book of JeremiahI. יד' (to know): in the positive usage.A. יד' with YHWH as subject

1. Qal. 1:5. Before I formed you in the womb, I knew you.
2. Hiph. 11:18, YHWH made it known to Me.
16:21 I will make them know.

B. יד' with YHWH and His words as Object

1. יד' with YHWH as the personal object.

9:23 he knows me, that I am YHWH who -
24:7 I will give them a heart to know that I am YHWH -
31:34 No longer shall each man teach, saying "know YHWH",
For they shall all know Me.

2. יד' with YHWH's attributes as Object.

5:5 They know the way of YHWH, the law of their God.

3. יד' with ' כ' ' clause.

- a. The Word of YHWH, 32:8 I knew that this was the word of YHWH.
44:28, All the remnant shall know whose word
will stand -
44:29 that you may know that My words will
surely stand -

- b. The Name of YHWH, 16:21 "They shall know that My name is YHWH."

- c. The deeds of YHWH, 2:19, "Know and see how evil and bitter it
is -"

4. יד' with a rhetorical question.

- a. with ' מה ' 2:23 Know what you have done.
- b. with ' מי ' 17:9 The heart is deceitful - who can know it?
- c. with ' ה ' 22:16 Is not this to know Me?

C. Knowledge (ידע)

3:15 I will give you shepherds - who will feed you with knowledge.

D. Hodia - Yada (ידע , ידעו)

11:18 YHWH made it known to me and I knew.
16:21 I will make them know - they shall know that My name is YHWH.

II. lo-Yada (Not to know) in the negative usage.A. with YHWH (or suffix) as object

- 2:8 Those who handle the law did not know Me.
4:22 For My people are foolish, they know Me not, how to do good
they know not.
9:2 They proceed from evil to evil, and they do not know Me.
9:5 They refuse to know Me.

B. with YHWH's attributes as object.

- 5:4 For they do not know the way of YHWH, the law of their God.
8:7 But my people know not the ordinance of YHWH.

C. with YHWH as object (Gentiles as subject)

- 10:25 Pour out Thy wrath upon the nations that know Thee not.

D. with Pagan Gods, foreign land, foreign language.

- a. gods (7:9, 19:4, 44:3), b. land (9:15, 15:14, 16:13),
c. words (5:15).

C. The Wilderness Motif in Jeremiah Ch.21. Some Problems concerning the Wilderness-Motif in the Old Testamenta. The Nomadic Ideal

The study of the wilderness motif in the Old Testament has played an important role in Biblical research since introduced by K. Budde in 1895.¹⁾

In his article 'the Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament' Karl Budde pointed

out: 'The nomadic ideal meets us not only in the Rechabites, but also in another form, in the prophets of Israel' (Jer., Hos., Is.)

'We have the prophetic transformation of the nomadic life in full conscious development. The nomadic life has a moral-religious value'.²⁾

He goes on to adduce proofs of this in Jeremiah, Hosea, and Isaiah: i.e.

Jeremiah appropriates the nomadic ideal as portraying the spiritual life of obedience to YHWH; Hosea sees it as the life of repentance; and Isaiah stresses its purificatory moral-religious value.³⁾

J.W. Flight⁴⁾ followed Budde and expanded his theory of the nomadic ideal. He traced the development from 'nomadic origins' to 'nomadic ideal'. He made a distinction between 'a return to primitiveness' in the Rechabites and 'a return to simplicity' in the Prophets. The Prophets' support of the nomadic ideal lies in their hope of the people's return to spiritual simplicities: 'There are chiefly three ways in which the nomadic ideal presents itself in the prophet's writings:

1. in their references to the time of Israel's youth (nomadic life) as a time (the golden age) when the people were close to Yahweh (Jer.2:2-3a). Hos.11:1, 12:13, 13:4f)

2. in their opposition to formalism in religion, to sacrifice and ritual, and to the evils of civilization (Hos.6:6, 8:13, 3-5, etc.)

1) K. Budde, "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament", New World 4, 1895, pp.726-745.

2) *ibid.*, p.730, p.741.

3) Jer.35:13-17 (pp.730-731), Hos.12:9, (p.736), Is.7:14f (p.741).

4) J.S. Flight, "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal" JBL 42, 1923, pp.158-226.

3. in the nomadic figures which they employ to depict the "good time coming", in the restoration of the people to Yahweh's favour'.¹⁾ (Hos.12:9, 2:14f, 5:6 Jer.6:3,33:12).

According to Flight, 'the nomadic ideal' in the prophets indicates that 'Israel would be brought back to the simple and uncorrupted faith of the fathers'.²⁾

R.de Vaux treats³⁾ 'the nomadic Ideal of the prophets' along similar lines and explains that the nomadic Ideal in the prophets contains two complementary attitudes: a reaction against the sedentary civilization of Canaan, and a nostalgia for the golden age when God made a covenant with Israel in the desert, when Israel was faithful to its God.

"We do encounter what has been called the "nomadic ideal" of the Old Testament. The prophets look back to the past, the time of Israel's youth in the desert when she was betrothed to Yahweh (Jer.2:2, Hos.13:5, Am.2:10). They condemn the comfort and luxury of Urban life in their own day (Am.3:15, 6:8, etc) and see salvation in a return, at some future date, to the life of the desert, envisaged as a golden age (Hos.2:16-17, 2:10). -

If the Prophets speak of a return to the desert, it is not because they recall any glory in the nomadic life of their ancestors, but as a means of escape from the corrupting influence of their own urban civilization".⁴⁾

Recently S. Talmon has challenged the 'desert-ideal' theory and has introduced instead the 'Desert Motif'⁵⁾ in the Old Testament.

1) J.W. Flight, op.cit., p.215.

2) J.W. Flight, op.cit., p.223.

3) R.de Vaux, Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions, p.14.

4) ibid., p.14.

5) S. Talmon, "The "Desert Motif" in the Bible and in Qumran Literature." in Biblical Motifs, pp.31-63.

"The 'desert motif' that occurs in the Old Testament expresses the idea of an unavoidable transition period in which Israel recurrently is prepared for the ultimate transfer from social and spiritual chaos to an integrated social and spiritual order."

b. Positive and Negative Aspects of the Wilderness Tradition

Some scholars have pointed out that there are two contrasting attitudes to the period of the wilderness-wandering in the Old Testament.¹⁾

J. Skinner mentions two sides of the understanding of the wilderness sojourn (time): one is as the ideal time (Jeremiah 2:2-3) and the other is as the time of rebelliousness (Ezekiel 20:13).

"Jeremiah idealises the wilderness sojourn as a time when Israel's relation to Yahweh was perfect - Ezekiel is the first prophet who teaches that Israel had been rebellious from the outset."²⁾

1) J. Skinner, Prophecy and Religion, pp.64-65.

A. Lauha, Die Geschichtsmotive in den Alttestamentlichen Psalmen, pp.72-91.

He pointed out an 'idealistischen Deutung' and a 'pessimistische Betrachtung' in the Psalms. (p.91).

G. von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.I pp.280-289.

Chr. Barth, "Zur Bedeutung der Wustentradition", SVT 15, Leiden, pp.14-23.

2) J. Skinner, op.cit., pp.64-65.

He cites as one of its proofs of the relationship between Hosea and Jeremiah the fact that -

"Jeremiah accepts and amplifies Hosea's view of the religious development". (p.65)

Since the wilderness tradition in the Pentateuch involves 'murmuring' and 'rebellion' (Ex.17:1-7, Num.11:-14), the problem arises as to whether there is any relation between the Pentateuchal tradition and Hosea-Jeremiah?

The problem cannot be solved until we see what place a negative assessment of the wilderness period has in Jeremiah.

G. von Rad has shed new light on the wilderness tradition by 'form-critical' study.¹⁾ He takes up "the wandering in the wilderness" theme, which 'is, as far as the history of tradition goes, the final outcome of a very long process of growth and combination of traditions.'²⁾

He observes that the positive category of descriptions is characterized by a confessional style (Dt.26:5f Josh.24, Ps.136:16), which features an "exclusive concentration upon the action of God".

The negative category he then considers a product of reflection about that

action: "the more Israel came to regard Jahweh's leadership through the wilderness as an extremely marvellous event, the more urgent became the question: how did she stand up to the test during this period? The answer becomes more and more negative till it reaches the devastating verdict expressed in Ezek.20".³⁾

He pointed out that two different ways of viewing the matter (the wilderness-wandering) stand out in clear contrast:

1. In Jer.2:1-3, the wandering in the wilderness was the time when the relationship was at its fairest, the time of the first love of Yahweh and Israel.
2. In Ezek.20 and Ps.78, the theme has altered - this is the darkest and most negative picture. Israel's chief sin which is repeatedly mentioned in an almost stereotyped fashion, consists in her 'tempting Jahweh'.

He suggests that 'it can be said on the whole that it (the picture given in the Hexateuch) more or less holds the balance between Jer.II and Ezek.xx. It indicates both Jahweh's gracious control of history and Israel's behaviour'.⁴⁾

1) G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.I. pp.280-289.

2) ibid., p.280

He traces the process of growth from the positive pole in the confessional style (Dt.26:5f, Josh.24) to the negative pole which, particularly in the Hexateuch, belongs to a later stage of the wilderness traditions.

3) ibid., pp.282-283.

4) ibid., p.284.

The Wilderness Motif in Jeremiah Ch.2

Certain aspects of the wilderness motif¹⁾ occur in Jeremiah ch.2 using words such as 'מדבר' (vv.2,6,24,31) and 'שמה' (v.15b).²⁾

We may classify the wilderness-motif in Jeremiah ch.2 as follows:

1. The Communion between YHWH and Israel (in the wilderness).
v.2. I remember for you (לך)
your following Me in the wilderness (במדבר).
2. YHWH's leading in the wilderness (the positive aspect).
v.6. Where is YHWH,
who brought us from the land of Egypt,
who led us in the wilderness -. (במדבר)
3. The Rebellion of Israel is described in the wilderness - metaphor (the negative aspect)
v.24. A wild ass trained to the wilderness (מדבר)
in her living lust snuffing the wind.
4. The desolate aspect of the wilderness.
v.15. They (lions) have made his land a waste (שמה).
5. The Metaphor of the wilderness in the rhetorical question form.
v.31. Have I been a wilderness to Israel? (המדבר).
or a land of deep darkness?
If not, why do My people say
"we roam, no more we will come to Thee!"

1) On the conception of 'Motif', see S. Talmon, *op.cit.* pp.38-39.

2) 'wilderness' (מדבר): Jer.2:2,6,24,31

'waste' (שמה): Jer.2:15b.

'without inhabitant' (מבלי ישב): Jer.2:15.

'nobody shall dwell there' (לא-ישב אדם שם): Jer.2:6.

Some other phrases occur in parallelism with 'wilderness and waste'.

Jer.2:2 NT. 'in the land not sown'.

Jer.2:6, 'in a land of desert and shifting sands,
in a land of drought and deep darkness,
in a land no one crosses,
nobody inhabits'.

Jer.2:15 'His cities are in ruins, without inhabitant'.

Jer.2:31, 'A land of deep darkness'.

2. The Communion between YHWH and Israel in the wilderness

The wilderness is the sphere of the communion between YHWH and Israel.

v.2, 'I remember for you (γ^{λ}) the loyalty of your youth,
the love of your bridal days,
following Me in the wilderness,
in the land not sown.'

Some scholars understand this passage as embodying the so-called 'nomadic ideal': c.f. also Hos.2:17.¹⁾

Recently S. Talmon has challenged the 'nomadic ideal' hypothesis.²⁾

Some scholars interpret this passage as expressing 'a positive attitude' to 'the wilderness-tradition' in comparison with Ezek.20:13 which contains the negative evaluation.³⁾

We must examine this passage.

a. It indicates the covenant relationship between YHWH and Israel.

1. The time of youth: ($\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}$) This is the specific time when YHWH made the covenant with Israel at Sinai/Horeb.

Ezek.16:60 I will remember my covenant with you,
in the days of your youth ($\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}$).

ii. Loyalty ($\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}$) indicates the covenant-virtue (covenant-loyalty).⁴⁾

In Hosea the ' $\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}$ ' is described in the context of the covenant. (Hos.2:22)

iii. The marriage image (cf. $\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}\gamma^{\lambda}$) is used for the covenant relation. (cf.Hos.2:24).⁵⁾

1) K. Budde, op.cit., pp.726-745.
J.W. Flight, op.cit., pp.158-226.
R.de Vaux, op.cit., pp.14-15.

2) S. Talmon, op.cit., pp.34-35.

3) G.von Rad, op.cit., p.284 (See further p.331).
A. Lauha, op.cit., pp.72-91.
J. Skinner, op.cit., pp.64-65.
G.W. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, p.15.
Chr. Barth, op.cit., pp.18,23.

4) cf. N.W. Porteous, "The Old Testament and Some Theological Thought-Forms", in Living the Mystery, pp.31-46, p.43.

5) See further p.214f.

b. Israel's response of faith.

The phrase 'following Me (YHWH)' (לכתך אחרי) indicates Israel's response of faith to YHWH.

In Ex.3:18 'the phrase' (going - in the wilderness) refers to 'They will obey your voice'. (Ex.3:18).

When the people of Israel made the covenant with YHWH at Sinai, they answered in faith: 'All that YHWH has spoken we will do' (Ex.19:8)¹⁾, responding to the covenant condition: 'if you will obey My voice' (Ex.19:5).

c. Merciful act of YHWH.

It is YHWH who made Israel His bride.

'When Israel was a youth (נער),
I (YHWH) loved him' (אהבתי : Hos.11:1),
'and brought (you) to Myself'. (Ex.19:4).

It is YHWH who led them in the wilderness,

and 'in a land not sown' (cf. Jer.2:2).

Israel simply followed Him in His merciful pastoral guidance.

It is YHWH who remembered (for) Israel, in spite of the actual apostasy in the present situation of Israel.²⁾

Accordingly, the time of Israel's youth (bridal day) may be called 'the ideal and perfect' time in the relation between YHWH and Israel,³⁾ or 'eine Zeit der vollen Harmonie zwischen Volk und Gott' (Rudolph),⁴⁾ 'the time when the relationship was at its fairest, the time of the first love of Jahweh and Israel'. (G.von Rad).⁵⁾

1) On the confirmation: see further p.246, 370.

2) On 'YHWH's remembering Israel', see further pp. 309-311.

3) J. Skinner, op.cit., pp.64-65.

4) W. Rudolph, Jeremiah HAT, p.11.

5) G. von Rad, op.cit., p.282.

3. YHWH's leading in the wilderness

The wilderness tradition in the context of 'Heilsgeschichte' is found in several literary forms which express the personal relationship between YHWH and His people in the period of the wilderness-wandering. ¹⁾

Jeremiah ch.2 uses one of them:

Jer.2:6, 'Where is YHWH
who brought us from the land of Egypt
who led us in the wilderness' (הַמִּדְבָּר בְּמִדְבָּר).).

The merciful act of YHWH guiding Israel in the wilderness is presented.

a. 'Leading' (מָלִיךְ). The leading-in-the-wilderness-form contains the verb 'lead' (מָלִיךְ) in the hiphil-participle form ²⁾ of the root 'go' (הָלַךְ). The "going into the wilderness form" which occurs in Ex.3:18, Josh.24:17 (cf.Ex.5:3,8:27,15:22) may be its primitive or original form.

The "leading in the wilderness form" seems to be the alternative or expanded form shaped in theological reflection, representing the merciful act of YHWH. ³⁾

1) The wilderness tradition in the context of Heilsgeschichte may be classified under the following forms:-

1. 'Leading-in-the-wilderness' form בְּמִדְבָּר הַמִּדְבָּר YHWH as Subject.
Am.2:10, Dt.8:2,15,29:4, Jer.2:6, Ps.106:9, Ps.136:16. (cf.Hos.2:16)
Am.2:10, Dt.8:2,29:4. with "forty years".
Jer.2:6, Ps.106:9 13b:16. without the phrase of "forty years".
 2. 'Going-into-the-wilderness' form בְּמִדְבָּר הָלַךְ Israel as Subject.
Ex.3:18, Josh.24:17, (Neh.9:18), Jud.11:16 cf. Jer.2:2, Ex.5:3,8:27,15:22.
 3. 'Finding-in-the-wilderness' form בְּמִדְבָּר מָצָא
Dt.32:10 Hos.9:10 Jer.31:2, Gen.36:24, cf. Ex.15:22.
 4. 'Carrying-in-the-wilderness' form בְּמִדְבָּר נָשָׂא
Dt.1:31 cf. Hos.11:3, Is.40:11,46:3,63:9, Ex.19:4 (cf. Dt.32:11) Numb.11:12.
 5. 'Knowing-in-the-wilderness' form בְּמִדְבָּר יָדַע
Hos.13:5, cf. Am.3:2.
 6. 'Guiding-in-the-wilderness' (like a flock) form בְּמִדְבָּר נָהַג
Ps.78:52 cf. Is.49:10.
- 2) B.D.B. The hiphil participle form מָלִיךְ occurs 5 times in O.T.
Dt.8:15, Jer.6:17, Is.63:13, Zc.5:10.
- 3) In the leading in the wilderness form subject is YHWH: YHWH leads Israel.

On the other hand in the going in the wilderness form subject is Israel.
Concerning the relation "Hiphil" and "Qal" Form, see further pp. ?

b. The wilderness tradition occurs in combination with the exodus tradition.¹⁾ In Jeremiah 2:6, the leading-in-the-wilderness formula is preserved in combination with the exodus 'הלך' formula in the historical prologue or kerygma reciting the mighty acts of YHWH.

c. The element of the old Credo? A problem arises.

G.von Rad explains as follows:

'this element (the Jahweh's leading the people through the wilderness) in the Credo is very old - While the Credo in Deut.26:5ff. deals with the events from the Exodus to the Settlement in one clause - in the text given in Josh.24 the wandering now has a place of its own alongside the deliverance and the miraculous crossing of the Red Sea ("and then you lived a long time in the wilderness", v.7b)'.²⁾

But his so-called "kernel credo" (Dt.26:5ff) omits the wilderness period in its recital.³⁾ In Dt.6:20-23 also the theme of YHWH's leading in the wilderness does not occur. Moreover even in Josh.24 the theme of YHWH's leading in the wilderness is not described:- the subject in this text is Israel. (Josh.24:17)

What is the background of the theme of YHWH's leading in the wilderness in the context of 'Heilsgeschichte'?

In the old sources of the Old Testament, we may find other expressions referring to the merciful acts of YHWH in the wilderness:

- 'YHWH's finding Israel in the wilderness' (Dt.32:10, Hos.9:10)
- 'Carrying them (in the wilderness)' (Ex.19:4, cf.Dt.32:11)
- 'Knowing them in the wilderness' (Hos.13:5)
- 'Guiding (His people) in the wilderness (like a flock) (Ps.78:52, cf.Is.49:10).

1) The Exodus הלך formula and the wilderness motif.
with 'going' (הלך) Ex.3:17, Josh.24:17, Neh.9:18.
with 'leading' (הלילך) Jer.2:6, Am.2:10.
The Exodus הלך formula and the wilderness motif.
Dt.8:14, 29:4 Ps.136:11.

2) G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, Vol.I., p.281.

3) cf.P.H. Williams, The Fatal and Foolish Exchange: Living water for 'Nothing', p.24.

4. The Wilderness tradition in Deut.32, Hosea,
and the Asaph-Psalms

The merciful acts of YHWH in the desolate-wilderness are described in Deut.32:10-11, Hos.9:10, 11:3, 13:5, and Asaph-Psalm 78:52.

a. The wilderness tradition in Dt.32

Dt.32:10-11, 'He found him in a land of wilderness (מִדְבָּר)
and in the waste and howling desert (תִּהְיוּ)
He encircled him, he cared for him,
he kept him as the apple of his eye.
Like an eagle that stirs up its nest,
that flutters over its young,
spreading out its wings catching them
carrying them on its pinions.

i. YHWH's finding Israel in the wilderness.

The wilderness tradition here is expressed in the form of 'YHWH's finding Israel in the wilderness'. (מָצָא בְּאֶרֶץ מִדְבָּר).¹⁾

The Subject is YHWH. His action is directed to His people Israel. YHWH's act finding Israel indicates the initiative of YHWH's merciful act in the personal relationship (communion) between Himself and His people.²⁾ The wilderness picture contains the desolate-aspect in combination with the word 'void' (תִּהְיוּ).³⁾

The characteristic of this expression is the emphasis upon the greatness of the grace of YHWH.

1) This form occurs in Dt.32:10, Hos.9:10, Gen.36:24, Jer.31:2.

The Subject is YHWH. Dt.32:10, Hos.9:10.

The Subject is the people. Jer.32:10, Gen.36:24 (Anah).

2) cf.G.von Rad, Deuteronomy, p.197.

He comments concerning 'the conception of the finding' (YHWH found Israel in the wilderness) as follows:

'There is much to be said for the hypothesis that we must consider this "tradition of the finding" to be an old tradition, by this time half-forgotten, about the origins of Israel which has, in fact, been almost completely pushed aside and overlaid by the other traditions of the election (the Exodus tradition, the patriarchal tradition)'.

3) cf.Gen.1:2, Jer.4:23, Ps.107:40.

ii. YHWH's carrying Israel

The Carrying (נָשָׂא) formula as descriptive of the merciful act of YHWH occurs in both the eagle-(Ex.19:4, Dt.32:11) and the shepherd-picture (Is.40:11) in the Old Testament.¹⁾

In Ex.19:4, the image of the eagle (or vulture) who can safely carry its young on its mighty wings is described in combination with the exodus (the saving act of YHWH in Egypt) and YHWH's bringing Israel to Himself, to his dwelling place.

In Dt.32:10-11 YHWH's act of carrying Israel might be understood in connection with the 'Heilsgeschichte' as referring to the Exodus, the leading-in-the-wilderness, and the settlement in YHWH's land.²⁾

iii. The characteristic of the wilderness tradition in Dt.32.

The Characteristic of the wilderness tradition in Dt.32 is that it occurs in the covenant Rib form: the emphasis falls upon the greatness of the grace and love of YHWH who found Israel in the desolate wilderness and carried them into the fruitful land, protecting and sheltering them in the wilderness of void and deep darkness.

This greatness of YHWH's grace is presented in contrast with the unfaithfulness of Israel: their apostasy and rebellion.

1) The image of the eagle: Ex.19:4, Dt.32:11 (נָשָׂא נְשֹׂאִים)

The image of the shepherd: Is.40:11, 46:3, 63:9 cf. Hos.11:3.

The image of parents: Dt.1:31 (a nurse: Num.11:12).

2) On the historical prologue in Dt.32, see further p.363.

The wilderness tradition appears in several forms in the book of Hosea.

'Finding Israel in the wilderness' (Hos.9:10)

'Like grapes in the wilderness I found Israel' (במדבר)

'Knowing (Pasturing) Israel in the wilderness' (Hos.13:5)¹⁾

'It was I who knew (or pastured) you in the wilderness (במדבר)
in the land of drought.'

The merciful acts of YHWH are described in reference to the wilderness
(Hos.2:14, 11:3, 12:9).

1. The emphasis falls upon YHWH Himself, in the reference to the merciful acts in the wilderness.

'It is I (יִי) who knew (or pastured) you in the wilderness' (13:5)

'It is I (יִי) who taught Ephraim to walk,
I took them up in my arms'. (11:3)

The merciful acts of YHWH are mentioned not only as past event, but also as the future event of salvation.

'It is I (יִי) who will allure her,
and bring her into the wilderness
and speak tenderly to her.' (2:16)

ii. The greatness of the grace of YHWH's acts in the wilderness is emphasized by reference to the desolate-aspect of the wilderness.(Hos.13:5)

iii. The merciful acts of YHWH in the wilderness are described in contrast with the unfaithfulness and rebellion of Israel²⁾ in the covenant Rib form.

1) Hos.13:5, BHK 3. It was I who knew (יָדַע) you in the wilderness.

LXX. It was I who pastured (ἐποίμαινόν) you -.

2) The unfaithfulness and rebellion of Israel.

Hos.9:10b. 'But they came to Baal-peor,
and consecrated themselves to Baal,
and became detestable like the thing they loved.

Hos.13:6. 'But when they had fed to the full,
they were filled and their heart was lifted up,
therefore they forgot Me.

Hos.11:3b. 'But they did not know that I healed them.'

c. The wilderness tradition in the Asaph-Psalms.

The wilderness tradition of the merciful acts of YHWH occurs in the Asaph-Psalms.

'Leading in the wilderness', (Ps.106:9, 136:16)

'Guiding in the wilderness (like a flock)' (Ps.78:52).

YHWH's miraculous pasturing acts of giving water, manna, and quails in the wilderness are also described (Ps.78:15-16, 23-29, Ps.105:40-41).¹⁾

In the Asaph-Psalms (Ps.78 and 106) the central feature is the element of Israel's rebellion in the wilderness.

The positive aspect of YHWH's help in the wilderness is recounted, in order to provide the background against which the sin of Israel stands out.²⁾ YHWH's merciful acts are mentioned in contrast with Israel's sin:

YHWH's side: YHWH's giving water in the wilderness (Ps.78:15-16) (במדבר)

Israel's : 'Yet they sinned still more against Him,
rebellng against the Most High in the desert.

They tempted God in their heart.' (Ps.78:17-18)

YHWH's side: YHWH's guiding them in the wilderness as a flock (Ps.78:52)
(במדבר)

Israel's : 'Yet they tempted and rebelled against the Most High God'
(Ps.78:56)

YHWH's side: YHWH's leading them in the wilderness (Ps.106:9) (במדבר)

Israel's : 'But they soon forgot His works -
they lusted exceedingly in the wilderness
and tempted God in the desert.' (Ps.106:13a-14)

1) cf. A. Lauha, Die Geschichtsmotive in den Alttestamentlichen Psalmen, pp. 74-83.

He mentions some miraculous events in the period of the wilderness-wandering which are described in the Psalms.

1. Quellwunder, (Ps.105:41 78:15-16)

2. Speisungswunder (Ps.78:17-31, 105:40)

a. Mannawunder.

b. Wachtel-wunder.

2) U.W. Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness, p.39.

5. The Rebellion of Israel in the wilderness

a. The rebellious lust of Israel in the wilderness.

Jer.2:24. 'A wild ass trained to the wilderness (מִדְבָּר) in her living lust snuffing the wind!' (בְּאֵרֶת נִפְשָׁהּ)

In this passage the wilderness (מִדְבָּר) is connected with the lust (אֵרֶת).¹⁾ This combination between the wilderness and the lust of Israel occurs in Ps.106:14. (cf.78:18,30)

Ps.106:14 'They lusted exceedingly (וַיִּתְאָוּר תַּאֲוָה) in the wilderness (בַּמִּדְבָּר) and tempted God in the desert.'

Ps.78:17-18 'And they sinned still more against Him rebelling against the Most High in the desert (בַּצִּיָּה) And they tempted God in their heart by asking meat for their lust.' (נִפְשָׁהּ)

These passages are rooted in the tradition of Israel's murmuring²⁾ against YHWH in the wilderness (Ex.17:1-7) - cf. Num.11:4.

This event is not only the Rib (Ex.17:2,7, Jer.2:29) of Israel against YHWH, or the tempting of YHWH (Ex.17:2,7), but also rebellion against YHWH (Ps.78 17 40).

It is characteristic of Jeremiah that he represents the rebellion of Israel in his proclamation, not as a past event, but that their contemporary behaviour is that of a wild ass (even though he stands on the historical tradition of Israel's murmuring against YHWH (Ex.17:1-7), cf.Ps.106:14, 78:17-18.).

1) The noun 'אֵרֶת' occurs in Dt.12:15, 18:16, 20:21, 1.Sam.23:20, Jer.2:24, Hos.10:10. Only in Jer.2:24 is the word (אֵרֶת) connected with the wilderness (מִדְבָּר).

The verb 'אָוַר' in connection with the wilderness occurs in Ps.106:14 and in the murmuring-motif narrative (Num.11:4, 34).

2) Concerning the murmuring motif in the wilderness:

G.S. Coats, Rebellion in the Wilderness, 1968.

b. The rebellious acts of Israel in the wilderness.¹⁾

On Israel's side the wilderness is the locus where Israel took the Rib against YHWH, tempted Him and rebelled against Him.

In Jeremiah ch.2 several further expressions are used with reference to the events of Israel's rebellion against YHWH in the wilderness.

i. The murmuring in the wilderness.

Jer.2:29 'Why do you dispute with Me?' (למה תריבון אלי)

This phraseology is related with the passage of Ex.17:2, which describes the murmuring motif in the wilderness.

Ex.17:2 'Why do you dispute with Me?' (מה-תריבון עמדי)

It is quite probable that Jeremiah stands in this historical tradition of Israel's murmuring against YHWH (Ex.17:1-7). There are many similarities in terminology between Ex.17:1-7 and Jeremiah ch.2.²⁾

1) On this subject:

A. Lauha, Die Geschichtsmotive in den Alttestamentlichen Psalmen, pp. 72-91.

W. Harrelson, "Guidance in the Wilderness," Interpr. 13, 1959, pp. 24-36.

A.C. Tsumyogi, 'The Rebellions of Israel', JBL 81, 1962, pp.385-390.

U. Mauser, Christ in the Wilderness, 1963, pp.29-32.

G.W. Coats, op.cit., p.968.

S. Talmon, 'The "Desert-Motif" in the Bible and in Qumran Literature', in Biblical Motifs, 1966, pp.31-63.

2) On similarities in terminology may be found between Ex.17:1-7 and Jer.2.
See further p.²⁸¹

ii. The worship of the golden calf at Horeb.

Jer.2:11 'My people changed His Glory
for "No-Profit" (בְּלֹא-תוֹכֵל)

This is related to Ps.106:19-20 and Ex.32:1-11 which describes the worship of the golden calf at Horeb. Moses condemned them, denouncing their action as a great sin (חַטָּאת גְּדוֹלָה): Ex.32:21).

In Ps.106:10-20 this event is interpreted:

'They made a calf in Horeb
and worshipped a molten image.
They exchanged their Glory
for the image of an ox that eats grass.'

It is a characteristic of Jeremiah that he not only recalled the tradition of the historic crisis, but reformulated it so as to make it relevant for this contemporary circumstance.

iii. The worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim.

Jer.2:20b. 'you bowed down and committed harlotry' (זָנָה).

This terminology is rooted in the harlotry motif in Num.25:1-3 (v.3: זָנָה), Hos.9:10, and Ps.106:28 concerning the worship of Baal-Peor in Shittim.²⁾

These old traditions of the rebellious acts of Israel in the wilderness are preserved in the stream represented by Hosea the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah.

It is a characteristic of Jeremiah that he actualises the old tradition of the rebellions of Israel in the wilderness and applies it to his contemporary situation.

1) The Scribal Correction, see further pp. 10, 39, 180.

C.D. Ginsburg, op.cit., pp.347f.

2) See further pp.285-287.

6. The Desolate-Aspect of the Wilderness in Jeremiah Ch.2

In the book of Jeremiah the wilderness (מִדְבָּר) is connected with the word 'desolation' (שִׁמְמָה , שִׁמָּה).¹⁾

The Grace-aspect of the wilderness (YHWH's leading in the wilderness) is replaced by the desolation-aspect of the wilderness with the use of the term ' שִׁמָּה ' in Jeremiah ch.2.²⁾

Jer.2:15b. 'They (lions) have made his land a waste (לְשִׁמְמָה)
his cities are in ruins, without inhabitant.'

YHWH's land and heritage (2:7b) is turned over to 'desolation' because of Israel's sin and apostasy, and YHWH's anger and wrath (cf.12:10-11). It is characteristic of Jeremiah that his presentation of the wilderness-tradition shows a fusion of the two themes: the grace- and desolation-themes.

Jer.2:6: 'Where is YHWH,
who led us in the wilderness?'

This is the grace-theme, presenting YHWH as the shepherd of Israel; and then,

- 1) A characteristic of the usage of 'wilderness' (מִדְבָּר) in Jeremiah is its combination with 'desolation' (שִׁמְמָה , שִׁמָּה).
12:10, 11-12, 4:26-27, 50:12-13, etc.

J. Muilenburg, 'The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah', in H.G. May-Festschrift, Translating & Understanding the O.T., pp.50-51.

He mentions the word 'desolation' (שִׁמְמָה , שִׁמָּה) as a term of adversity and affliction in Jeremiah:

'One of the words most frequently employed by Jeremiah nearly always in referring to the destruction of the land is שִׁמָּה and its congeners, above all the noun שִׁמְמָה (10:22, 12:10-11, 4:27, 6:8).

The noun שִׁמָּה, always employed in contexts of judgement, is used similarly.' (2:15, 4:4), p.51.

- 2) S. Talmon, op.cit., p.53.

He suggests: "the transition aspect of the 'trek motif' is replaced by the 'desolation aspect' of the 'Wilderness motif'".

'in a land of deserts and shifting sands,
in a land of drought and deep darkness,
in a land no one crosses,
nobody inhabits'.

The phrase 'nobody inhabits' is related to the term 'desolation' to indicate the desolate-aspect of the wilderness.¹⁾

By this desolation-idea of the wilderness, the emphasis falls upon the greatness of the grace of YHWH, who led them in the desolate wilderness and an uninhabited land.

W. Rudolph comments on Jer.2:6,

"the horrors of the wilderness were painted in ever-new expression in order to make clear the greatness of the divine help".²⁾

Accordingly after all, when Israel repents (שׁוּב) and YHWH heals them,

- 'They (the remnant of Israel) found grace in the (desolate) wilderness'. (Jer.31:2b-3).

1) The phrase 'nobody inhabits' and similar phrases are frequently combined with the term 'desolation (שְׁמָה , שְׁמָמָה)' in the book of Jeremiah.

- Jer.2:5-6 4:7, 6:8, 9:10, 12:11 46:19, 48:9, 49:33, 50:3, 13;40, 51:29,43.

'nobody shall dwell there' (Jer.2:6,49:33 50:40,51:43:

() לא-ישב אדם שם

'without inhabitant' (Jer.2:15 9:10: מבלי יושב

'without inhabitant' (Jer.4:7,46:19,48:9: מאין יושב

'an uninhabited land' (Jer.6:8: ארץ לוא נרשבת

'no one dwells in them' 'Jer.44:2: אין בהם יושב

These phrases occur with ' שְׁמָה לְשָׁמָה ' or similar expression.

2) W. Rudolph, Jeremiah, p.12.

7. The Metaphor of "wilderness" in the rhetorical question form

Jer.2:31 'Have I been a wilderness to Israel? (הַמִּדְבָּר)
or a land of deep darkness?
If not, why do My people say,
"we roam. No more will we come to Thee!"'

The usage of the "wilderness" as a barren, howling wilderness¹⁾ in this rhetorical question form is related to another category of 'metaphor' for ineffectiveness, i.e. the concept of 'No-god'.

a. YHWH condemns the unfaithful response of Israel which they say:

'We roam. No more will we come to Thee'. (נָבֹא אֵלֶיךָ)

This phrase is in contrast to the merciful acts of YHWH:

'I brought you to Myself' (Ex.19:4 - אָנֹכִי)

'I brought you into a plentiful land - אֶרֶץ אֵל (My land - My heritage) Jer.2:7.

So Israel ought to come to YHWH to serve Him.

But they did not come to YHWH but to 'Emptiness', 'No-god', 'No-Profit' (Baal). The ineffectiveness of the other gods whom Israel, in their degeneration, have turned to serve, is stressed by the metaphorical use of the terms 'the wilderness' and 'a land of deep darkness.'

b. On the contrary, YHWH reveals Himself to them as 'the living God'(v.13),

1) cf. S. Talmon, op.cit., p.43.

He suggests 'a mythical conception of "wilderness" in ancient semitic mythology.' He explains this category of wilderness in relation with "Mot", in Ugaritic myth.

"The connotation of "מִדְבָּר" as a barren, awe-inspiring, howling wilderness is intimately related to another category of a rather specific brand of "reality" -

In Ugaritic myth it is Mot, the god of all that lacks life and vitality, whose Natural habitation is the sun-scorched desert, or alternatively, the darkling region of the netherworld. Mot is the eternal destroyer, who periodically succeeds in vanquishing Baal, and in reducing the earth temporarily to waste and chaos.

It may be due to this identification in Canaanite myth of desert and darkness with Mot, that any equation of Yahweh with the wilderness is anathema to the Biblical writers." (p.43).

God of mighty acts (delivering them, leading them, and planting them).³⁴⁷⁾

c. In spite of their apostasy YHWH still addresses them as 'My people!' This rhetorical question form indicates the faithfulness and love of YHWH towards His apostate Israel, appealing to them in order that they may find their sin before Him and come back (repent) to YHWH as the faithful people of YHWH.

The wilderness (מדבר) indicates the sphere where the communion between YHWH and Israel took place in their history:

- i. God's merciful act in guiding Israel on the one hand (v.6)
- ii. the rebellion of the people against YHWH on the other (v.24)
- iii. Wilderness and sin are correlated: whenever sin occurs and apostasy takes place, even the fruitful land can be turned into desolation (v.15, cf.12:10 - מדבר שממה).
- iv. At last the people who survived the sword found grace in the wilderness (desolation) Jer.31:2.

It is the wilderness that YHWH guides Israel through into the fruitful land (vv.6-7). It is in the desolate-wilderness that YHWH chastizes Israel (Jer.6:8). And then it is in the wilderness (desolation) that Israel will repent and find YHWH's grace (Jer.31:2).

It is interesting to find that the tradition of the rebellious acts of Israel in the wilderness is preserved in the chain - Ex.17:1-7, Dt.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms (Ps.78,106).

Accordingly it was most probably in the Northern Kingdom Israel that it was preserved.²⁾ Even in this tradition of the rebellion of Israel in the wilderness, then, Jeremiah ch.2 stands in the prophetic tradition of the Northern Kingdom Israel.

1) cf. R. Davidson, Biblical Criticism, in the Pelican Guide to Modern Theology, pp.49-50

2) cf. A.C. Tunyogi, "The Rebellions of Israel," JBL 81, p.390.

His statement that 'on the other hand, Amos, Isaiah, and Jeremiah are not familiar with it (the rebellions of Israel)' (P.390) is not acceptable.

But his remark that 'most probably it (the rebellions of Israel) was in the Northern Kingdom' (p.390) is suggestive.

D. Historical Prologue in Jeremiah Ch.21. Some Problems connected with the Sinai and Exodus Traditionsa. The Contribution of G.von Rad.

In his book, The Form-Critical Problem of the Hexateuch,¹⁾ G.von Rad pointed out that there are two important traditions in the Hexateuch: 'the canonical redemption story of the Exodus and Settlement in Canaan (designated "Settlement Tradition") on the one hand and the tradition of Israel's experiences at Sinai on the other hand, stand over against each other as two originally independent traditions.'²⁾

i. The small historical creed is found in Dt.26:5b-9 6:20-24, Josh.24:2b-13.

The characteristic of these credos is that they contain mention of the events at Sinai. Von Rad comments: 'here the silence concerning the events of Mount Sinai is even more striking'.³⁾

The original 'Sitz im Leben' of this settlement tradition is the Feast of Weeks celebrated at the Gilgal sanctuary near Jericho (Josh.4f).

ii. The Sinai tradition in the Hexateuch contains two predominating elements: the account of the theophany (God's appearing to the people) and the making of the covenant. The Sinai tradition is found in Ex.19-24, Ps.50,81, and in the shape of Deuteronomy as a whole. These passages describe a distinct form of covenant renewal. 1. Parainesis, with historical presentation of the Sinai events (Ex.19f,-Dt.1-11), 2. Recitation of the Law (Decalogue and Book of the covenant, Dt.12-26), 3. Blessing and curses (Ex.23:20f,Dt.27f), 4. Solemnisation of the Covenant (Ex.24,Dt.26:16-19) The Sinai tradition has its cultic setting in the ancient covenant festival at Shechem, namely the Feast of Booths (Jos.8).

1) G.von Rad, "Das formgeschichtliche Problem des Hexateuch," BZAW 4, 1938, BT. "The form-critical problem of the Hexateuch," in The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays, 1966.

2) ibid, p.13.

3) ibid, p.6.

'In the two traditions of Sinai and of the Settlement in Canaan we have what were originally quite separate things'.¹⁾

iii. The Yahwist gathered up the materials which were becoming detached from the cultus, and compacted them firmly together within a literary framework, that is, the Settlement tradition.

'the incorporation of the Sinai tradition into the Settlement tradition should be attributed to the Yahwist'.²⁾

And v. Rad concludes: 'The blending of the two traditions gives definition to the two fundamental propositions of the whole message of the Bible: Law and Gospel'.³⁾ the Sinai tradition and the Settlement tradition.

The contribution of Hans-Joachim Kraus.

In his book, Gottesdienst in Israel: Studien zur Geschichte des Laubhüttensfestes⁴⁾ H-J Kraus posited the third festival in the period of the Judges, basing his suggestion on the evidence of Hos. 12:9-10 Lev. 23: 39-44 16: i.e. a Tent Festival (Zeltfest), celebrated yearly at the central sanctuary during the autumn Feast of Tabernacles. He accepts von Rad's thesis and offers the suggestion: 'Is it not possible that the Tent, which was obviously foreign to the Shechem amphictyony, belonged originally to the South, perhaps as the sanctuary of the old amphictyony of the six tribes in or near Hebron?'

He assumes that a nomadic tent festival was observed at an early period, and that in the camp-arrangement all the twelve tribes of Israel were assembled: "The amphictyonic worship of the early period was held in the desert."

This was the festival from the liturgy of which the compilers of the early history of Israel obtained the traditions about the wilderness wandering, the Tent of Meeting, and the details of the nomadic camp arrangements, etc.

1) The Problem of the Hexateuch and other Essays, 1966, p.41.

2) ibid, p.53.

3) ibid, p.54.

4) H-J Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, Studien zur Geschichte des Laubhüttenfestes, München, 1954.

Three festivals are thus posited for the twelve-tribe confederation; from which most of Israel's historical traditions were derived.

1. The covenant renewal festival, originally celebrated at Shechem every seventh year (Dt.31:10f), Josh.24, Dt.27, the Sinai covenant material in Exodus 19-24, and Deuteronomy - all originally derive from this celebration, and contain evidence of its liturgical rites.

'the cultic traditions of Shechem point to a ceremony of proclamation of the divine law which belonged unquestionably to the cultic act of the renewal of the covenant. In the early period the cultic community of the twelve tribes assembled 'every seven years' at the central sanctuary of Shechem in order to pledge themselves afresh to the service of YHWH'.¹⁾

2. A Tent Festival at the central sanctuary which yearly commemorated God's leading the people through the wilderness and 'tabernacling' in their midst. This also took place in the autumn.

3. A yearly festival at Gilgal at the time of the harvest, or earlier, when the Exodus from Egypt and the Settlement were liturgically commemorated.

This hypothesis which separates the Sinai Tradition from the Exodus-Conquest tradition has been sharply attacked by A.Weiser, J.Bright, W. Beyerlin M.L. Newman, H.B. Huffmon, and G.E. Wright.²⁾

1) H-J. Kraus, Gottesdienst in Israel, 1962, Munchen.

This is an enlarged and revised edition of the former book published in 1954. ET. Worship in Israel, Oxford, 1966, p.145.

2) A. Weiser, Introduction to the Old Testament, London, 1961, p.89.

"von Rad's question should be posed from the opposite end with the idea that the theophany (Sinai) tradition with the manifestation of God's will and the making of the covenant on the one hand and the account of God's historical acts of salvation as the manifestation of His nature on the other hand were the original basic component parts of one and the same festival celebrated at the central sanctuary of the tribes (the holy ark). These components appear already at the foundation of this union at the "Assembly" at Shechem (Josh.24) and from then onwards had a certain normative significance in the festival of the covenant for the whole of Israel: i.e. the sacral union of the tribes and for the shaping of its tradition."

Other scholars have also recognised that "G.von Rad's cultic credo had its original setting precisely within the covenant form. This means that the Exodus-Conquest and Sinai themes could not have been separated originally."¹⁾

.../J.Bright, A History of Israel, OTL, 1960, p.115.

He pointed out that the theory of von Rad and M. Noth which separates Exodus and Sinai events is based on presuppositions that are at best subjective: "The Sinai tradition is in any event quite as old as the Exodus tradition, and there is no reason to doubt that the two were linked from the beginning". (p.115).

cf. Early Israel in Recent History Writing, SBT 19, p.105f.

W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Traditions, 1961, contends for the view opposite to Von Rad's:

'As far as its relation to the Exodus-tradition goes, it remains to confirm that the two traditions (about the Exodus and Sinai) were linked together from the very beginning of the covenant with Yahweh: - it is the reason for the union of history and law which is characteristic of the Old Testament.' (p.169-170).

M.L. Newman, The People of the Covenant, 1965, pp.21-22.

'The exodus event was the foundation of the covenant event - The exodus event and the covenant event belonged together'.

H.B. Huffmon, "The Exodus, Sinai and the Credo", CBQ 27, pp.101-113.

'The proper understanding of the prologue indicates the essential connection between the Exodus and the Sinai covenant' - (p.112).

G.E. Wright, "Cult and History", Interp. 16, pp.3-20, esp.12-13.

1) G.E. Wright, op.cit., p.13.

b. The Contribution of Mendenhall and others.

New light has been shed upon the meaning of the historical prologue in the covenant form and the covenant Rib form, by the comparative study of the Hittite treaty texts and the covenant form in the Old Testament.

In 1954 G. Mendenhall pointed out remarkably close parallels in structure and content between the Old Testament covenant forms and the international treaties of the Hittites.¹⁾

On the matter of the historical prologue, he stated:

'The structure of the covenant' (the covenant form in the O.T. as compared with the suzerainty treaty form of the Hittites) 'is again the same: the delivery from Egypt was the first event in the previous relationships between the two parties, and this is the historical prologue which establishes the obligation of Israel to their benefactor'.²⁾

J. Muilenburg, K. Baltzer and Beyerlin recognized that the historical prologue or "proclamation of the mighty acts" is an important part of the covenant form as described in the Sinai/Horeb (Ex.19:3-8) and Shechem Texts (Josh.24).³⁾

H.B. Huffmon G.E. Wright, J. Harvey, and D.R. Hillers mention that the historical prologue or the mighty acts of God (Kerygma) is contained as a part of the covenant-Rib form.⁴⁾

We must examine the historical prologue in the covenant Rib form described in Jeremiah Ch.2 in relation with the two traditions of Exodus and Sinai.

1) G.E. Mendenhall Law and Covenant in Israel and the Ancient Near East, 1955, reprinted from BA 17, 1954 pp.26-46, 49-76.

2) ibid, p.37.

3) J. Muilenburg FSCF, VT 9, 1959, pp.347-365.

K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, Neukirchen, 1960, p.29f.

4) W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Traditions, pp.69-70. 'The historical prologue, one of the elements of the covenant-outline, found in Exod.19:4'. (p.70).

4) H.B. Huffmon, "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", JBI 78, pp.285-295..../

2. The Historical prologue in the covenant Rib form

The historical prologue is an important element of the covenant Rib form.¹⁾ Each example of the covenant Rib form has a different historical prologue according to its place within the development of the covenant history. The basic principle of the historical prologue is to proclaim the mighty acts of YHWH for His people Israel.

Jeremiah ch.2 describes the mighty acts of YHWH in delivering Israel from Egypt (v.6) in leading them through the wilderness (v.6)²⁾ and in bringing them into the fruitful land (v.7).

We must examine the theological meaning of the historical prologue in the covenant Rib form.

a. The Exodus 'העלה' formula in Jeremiah ch.2

In Jeremiah ch.2, the Exodus event is described in the 'העלה' formula which is distinguished from the 'הוציא' formula.³⁾

v.6 'Where is YHWH
who brought (המעלה) us out of the land of Egypt?'

.../ "The Exodus, Sinai and the Credo", CBQ 27, 1965, 101-113.

G.E.Wright "The Lawsuit of God" in IPH, pp.26-27, esp. pp.35, 52.

J. Harvey, "Le Rib-Pattern", Bibl. 43 pp.172-196.

D.R.Hiller, Covenant, p.129.

See further p. 172ff.

1) cf. H.B. Huffmon, op.cit., p.295.
see further p. 155-156.

2) On the Wilderness Motif in Jer.ch.2, see further pp. 328ff.

3) J. Wijngaards, "הוציא and העלה: A Twofold Approach to the Exodus", VT 15, 1965, p.91-102.

The 'העלה' formula occurs 4 times in the book of Jeremiah (2:6, 11:7, 16:14, 23:7) but in Dt. only once (Dt.20:1).

The 'הוציא' formula occurs 5 times in the book of Jeremiah (7:22, 11:4, 31:32, 32:21, 34:13), and in the book of Deuteronomy very often.

See further p. 173f.

i. This Exodus 'העלה' formula occurs here with reference to YHWH.

Jeremiah emphasized that it is YHWH Himself who brought Israel from

Egypt. In Ps.81:11 the Exodus 'העלה' formula is connected with YHWH's

self-revelation: 'I (אני) am YHWH your God
who brought (המלך) you out of the land of Egypt.'

ii. The Exodus 'העלה' formula is in radical opposition to the worship

of the golden calf. The unfaithful people at Sinai/Horeb (Ex.32) and

at Bethel & Dan (I.Ki.12) praise the golden calf by ascribing the Exodus

to it.

'These are your gods, O Israel,
who brought (העלה) you up out of the land of Egypt'.
(Ex.32:4b, 8b, I.Ki.12:28 Neh.9:18)

The prophets, Amos and Hosea, emphasized that it is YHWH Himself
who brought (העלה) Israel out of Egypt, condemning the worship of the
golden calf at Bethel.¹⁾

Am.2:10 'Thus says YHWH (v.6)
I (אני) brought you up out of the land of Egypt (העליתי)
the oracle of YHWH (v.11)'

Hos.12:14 'By a prophet YHWH brought (העלה) Israel up
from Egypt'.

iii. The Exodus 'העלה' formula is in radical opposition to the murmuring
motif, according to which Israel murmured against Moses, questioning his
aims in leading the Exodus:

Ex.17:3 'the people said.
"Why did you bring us up (העליתנו) out of Egypt,
to kill us and our children and our cattle with thirst?"'
(cf. Num.16:13, 20:5, 21:5)

1) Concerning 'judgement speech against Bethel':

Amos: 3:14, 4:4, 5:5,6, 7:10-13.

Hosea: (Bethaven!) 4:15 10:5,15, (in LXX: 'house of Israel' - 10:15).

See further pp. 283-284.

(οἶκος τοῦ Ἰσραὴλ)

iv. The Exodus 'העלה' formula is linked with the addition 'to this land (אל-ארץ)', which indicates the aim of the exodus.

'I have come down - to bring (להעלות) them out of that land to a good and broad land (Ex.3:8)
to a land flowing with milk and honey (Ex.3:17 33:3)
to the place of the Canaanites, the Hittites, the Amorites, the Perizzites, the Hivites, and Jebusites.' (Ex.3:17, 33:2).
to the land of which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob'.
(Ex.33:1, cf. Jud.2:1).

v. The Exodus 'העלה' formula has undergone an expansion from the primitive form ("bring from Egypt to the land") to a combination form whereby the Exodus proper is linked:

a. with the Entry 'הביא' theme:

'bring from Egypt and bring (הביא) into the land' (Jud.2:10

b. with the leading in the wilderness (הוליך) and the settlement (הביא) theme.

'bring (העלה) from Egypt, leading in the wilderness, (הוליך) and bring into the land (הביא): Jer.2:6-7.

vi. The Exodus 'העלה' formula is the hiphil form of 'עלה'. The 'going up (עלה) from' -form may be its primitive (Ex.33:1, 15, etc.)¹⁾ and the 'bring up (העלה) from' -form seems to be the alternative or expanded form shaped in theological reflection to express the mighty initiative of YHWH.²⁾

1) Ex.33:1 'YHWH said to Moses, "Depart, go up (עלה) hence.

15 'And he (Moses) said to Him,
"If Thy presence will not go with me,
do not bring us up (אל-תעלנו) from here!"

2) The relation between 'Qal' and 'hiphil' form is found in Jeremiah.

'הלך' and 'הוליך' (2:2, 6).

'בוא' and 'הביא' (2:7a, 6).

'עלה' and 'העלה' (2:6, 31:6).

See further p. 372f.

- vii. The Exodus 'העלה' formula is connected with a particular person: the prophetic messenger of YHWH, by whom this formula was preserved.¹⁾
- viii. The Exodus 'העלה' formula has been formulated and preserved among the prophets in the northern Kingdom of Israel, particularly in connection with the covenantal sanctuaries (Shechem, Gilgal) and with the sanctuary at Bethel where the prophets (Hosea and Amos) engaged in the conflict provoked by the religious crises, and condemned the worship of the golden calf and the breaking of the covenant.
-

1) Moses at Sinai/Horeb.

Ex.3:8f 'YHWH said "I have come down - to bring them (להעלות) up out of that land to a good - land!"

33:1-2 'YHWH said to Moses "Depart, go up hence, you and the people whom you have brought up (העלית) out of the land of Egypt, to the land -".

Joshua at Shechem.

Josh.24:17f 'for it is YHWH our God who brought (המעלה) us - from the land of Egypt -'.

Samuel at Gilgal. (1.Sam.12:6, 8:8, 10:18)

1.Sam.12:6 'Samuel said to the people, "YHWH is witness, who appointed Moses and Aaron and brought (העלה) your fathers up out of the land of Egypt"'.
 8:8 'YHWH brought you up out of Egypt'.

The angel (מלאך) of YHWH - from Gilgal to Bethel -

Jud.2:1 'the angel of YHWH said, "I brought you up (אעלה) from Egypt -".

A prophet of YHWH

Jud.6:8, 'YHWH sent a prophet to the people of Israel: and he said to them, "Thus says YHWH, the God of Israel: I (אנכי) brought you up (העליתי) from Egypt"'.
 13:1 'YHWH brought you up out of Egypt'.

Hosea

Hos.12:14 'By a prophet YHWH brought (העלה) Israel up from Egypt.'

Amos Am.2:10, 3:1, 9:7.

Am.2:10 'I brought you up out of the land of Egypt'. (אנכי העליתי)

Asaph (the people of the Asaph-Psalms)

Ps.81:11, 'I am YHWH your God, who brought you (המעלך) up out of the land of Egypt.'

Jeremiah Jer.2:6 11:7 16:14 23:7.

Jer.2:6 'Where is YHWH, who brought (המעלה) us up from the land of Egypt?'

b. The Entry 'הָבִיא' formula in Jeremiah ch.2

In Jeremiah ch.2 the settlement event is described in the 'הָבִיא' formula¹⁾ (v.7) and the 'נָטַע' formula (v.21)²⁾, which are distinct from the landgiving 'נָתַן' formula.³⁾

v.7 'I brought (הָבִיא) you into a fruitful land,
to eat its fruits and its goodness'.

i. This entry 'הָבִיא' formula occurs here in connection with YHWH, as the subject of the merciful act - YHWH's bringing Israel into 'My land'.

In Ex.6:8, the entry 'הָבִיא' formula is connected with YHWH's self-revelation: 'I will bring (הָבִיא) you into the land -
I (אֲנִי) am YHWH'.

ii. The entry 'הָבִיא' formula is in radical opposition to the rebellion of Israel against YHWH.

'He (YHWH) will bring us into this land (הָבִיא)
and give it to us, a land which flows with milk and honey.
Only, do not rebel against YHWH.' (Num.14:8)

Thus this formula occurs in connection with the murmuring of Israel in the wilderness.

'And the people disputed (דָּרְכוּ) with Moses - and said -
"Why have you made us come up out of Egypt (הַעֲלִיתָנוּ)
to bring (הָבִיא) us to this evil place?"'
(Num.20:3-5, 16:14).

1) Concerning the distribution of the 'הָבִיא' formula in the Old Testament:
J. Wijngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed, 1963, p.31.

On the formula 'הָבִיא' - I made you come to (this land) -

J. (4): Ex.13:5 (LXX. 33:3a) Num.20:12, Ex.15:17.

HE. (6): Ex.13:11, 19:4, Num.14:3,8,(31), 16:14.

Pre-Dt. (2): Jos.24:8, Jud.2:1.

Dt.Law (9): Dt.6:10,23, 7:1, 8:7, 9:4,28, 11:29, 26:9, 30:5.

Jer. (4): Jer.2:7, 3:14, 23:8, 31:8.

2) On the 'נָטַע' formula, see further pp.312-313.

3) On the 'נָתַן' formula as it occurs in the book of Jeremiah, see p. 178.

iii. The entry 'הביל' formula is expanded from a primitive form into a concrete description of Israel's entry "into the land."

- a. Ex.19:4 'You have seen how I bore you on eagles' wings,
and brought you to Myself.' (אבא אתכם אלִּי)
- b. Jud.2:1 '(I) brought you into the land (אביא אל-הארץ)
which I swore to give ~~to~~ your fathers.'
- c. Jer.2:7 'I brought you into a fruitful land' (אביא אל-ארץ)
(My land, My heritage).

iv. The entry 'הביל' formula occurs in the combination forms whereby the entry proper is linked:¹⁾

- a. with the 'נטע' formula. Ex.15:17, Jer.2:7,21.
Ex.15:17 'Thou wilt bring them in, (תבאמר)
and plant them (תטעמך) on Thy own mountain,
the place, O YHWH, which Thou hast made for Thy abode.'
- b. with the Exodus 'העלה' formula, Jud.2:1, Jer.2:6-7.
Jud.2:1 'I brought you up from Egypt, (אעלה)
and brought you into the land (אביא)

This combination occurs twice in the murmuring motif (Num.16:12f, 20:3-5).

v. The Entry 'הביל' formula is the hiphil form of 'בוא'. The 'coming into (בוא) form' may be its primitive expression and the 'bring into (הביל) form' seems to be the alternative or expanded form shaped in theological reflection to express the mighty initiative of YHWH:

Ex.19:1,4, 'the people of Israel came into the wilderness of Sinai (באו)
YHWH called to Moses, saying -
"you have seen -
how I brought you to Myself -" (אבא)

vi. The Entry 'הביל' formula is connected with a particular person, the prophetic messenger of YHWH, by whom this formula was preserved.

Moses at Sinai (Ex.19:4, cf.6:8, 13:5,11, 15:17). Dt.31:20,21.

Ex.19:4 'YHWH called to Moses saying - "you shall say to Israel -
'You have seen - how I brought you to Myself'".

1) The combination form of the settlement 'הביל' form and the Exodus 'הוציא' formula occurs frequently.

Ex.13:3-5, 9-11, Dt.6:10-12, 23, 8:7,14, 26:8-9, Ez.20:14-15.

Joshua at Shchem, Josh.24 Dt.31:23.

Dt.31:23 'YHWH commissioned Joshua the son of Nun and said
"you shall bring (תביא) the children of Israel
into the land which I swore to give them -".

Josh.24:8 'your eyes saw what I did to Egypt; -
Then I brought you to the land of the Amorites.' (אבאר)

The angel (מלאך) of YHWH - from Gilgal to Bethel

Jud.2:1 'the angel of YHWH went up from Gilgal to Bochim,
And he said, "I brought you up from Egypt, and
brought (אביא) you into the land which I swore
to give to your fathers".

Jeremiah

Jer.2:7 'I brought you (אביא) into a fruitful land.'

3. Historical Prologue in the covenant and covenant Rib form

We must examine the relation between the Sinai covenant tradition and the Exodus, wilderness-wandering, and Entry tradition. There are two literary forms in which the Exodus, wilderness-wandering and entry traditions occur:

- a. the covenant-formulation form (Ex.19:3-8, 24, Josh,24 I.Sam.12).
- b. the covenant Rib form (Jud.21-5, Dt.32, Hosea, Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah.ch.2)

a. In the covenant formulation-form. Ex.19:3-8 and 24:3-8

The Sinai covenant message of Ex.19:3-8¹⁾ contains the proclamation of YHWH's mighty acts in the covenant history (v.4):²⁾

Exodus: 'You have seen what I did to the Egyptians.'

Protecting in the wilderness: 'how I bore you on eagles' wings.'

Bringing to YHWH: 'I brought you to Myself.' (818)

These passages are described in the special covenant 'Gattung' of the 'I and you style.'

After the proclamation of YHWH's mighty acts in the 'Heilsgeschichte,' the covenant conditions (vv.5-6) are proclaimed:

'Now if you will listen to My voice,
and keep My covenant (כִּבְרִיתִי)
then you will become My own possession among all people.'

In the Sinai covenant passage, the covenantal response of the people is described in the three-fold style. (Ex.19:8, 24:3, 7).³⁾

'And all the people answered together and said,
"All that YHWH has spoken we will do."'

1) See further p.p. 236ff.

2) J. Muilenburg, 'The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations', VT 9, p.354.
Muilenburg calls this element 'Proclamation of the mighty acts' (v.4)
K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, p.37.
Baltzer calls this element 'Die Vorgeschichte' (v.4).

3) See further p. 370.

The Sinai tradition ~~is~~ Ex.19:3-8 with its description of making the covenant on the one hand, and YHWH's historical acts of salvation on the other, is an integral whole, whose parts are not to be separated from each other.

The proclamation of the mighty acts of YHWH constitutes the historical prologue of the covenant form.

Accordingly we may agree with W. Beyerlin who says:

'We may conclude, therefore that the traditions of the deliverance from Egypt and of the events on Sinai were connected at a very early date under the influence of an old covenant-form going back to the pre-Mosaic period.'¹⁾

In the passage Ex.19:3b-8, the traditions about the Exodus and Sinai, which are held together in the same covenant-form, are combined.

1) W. Beyerlin, Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Traditions, p. 169.

b. In the covenant Rib form. Jud.2:1-5

The covenant Rib form in Jud.2:1-5 contains the proclamation of YHWH's mighty acts in the covenant history (v.1b)

'I brought (אָלַכְּ) you up from Egypt,
and brought (אָנִיָּא) you into the land
which I swore to give to your fathers.'

i. The combination form.

The proclamation of YHWH's acts is described in the combination form of the Exodus ' הָעֵלְךָ ' formula and the Entry ' הָבִילָא ' formula.

ii. The covenant message style.

This proclamation is described in the special covenant-Gattung of the 'I and you style.'

iii. The covenant condition (v.2).

After the proclamation, the prohibition embodying the covenant condition follows:

'You shall make no covenant (בְּרִית) with the inhabitants of the land; you shall break down their altars.' (v.2)

iv. The breaking of the covenant.

The sin of Israel is indicted here in the light of the Sinai covenant condition (Ex.19:5a).

'you have not obeyed My voice.'

v. The response of Israel to YHWH.

v.4 describes: 'When the angel of YHWH spoke these words to all the people of Israel, the people lifted up their voices and wept.' (וַיִּבְכּוּ)

These words indicate that the people repented before YHWH with penitential cries and they served YHWH there. (v.5)

In Jud.10:10f a similar situation is described in the following way:

'And the people of Israel cried to YHWH, saying

"We have sinned against Thee.'" (v.10)

'And the people of Israel said to YHWH,

"We have sinned-(וַיִּשָּׁאֲנוּ)-" and they served YHWH (וַיַּעֲבֹדוּ)'
(v.15, 16b).

In Jud.2:1-5 the proclamation of the mighty acts of YHWH and the covenant theme are not separated but joined together.¹⁾ The mighty acts are an important element because they constitute the historical prologue in the covenant Rib form.

c. Historical prologue in Dt.32 Hosea and Asaph-Psalms

Examples of the historical prologue (the mighty acts of YHWH) within the frame-work of the covenant-Rib form occur in Deut.32 Hosea and the Asaph-Psalms.

a. Deuteronomy 32

Dt.32 constitutes a poetic statement of the wilderness and conquest theme: what YHWH had done for Israel.²⁾

v.11. 'Like an eagle (כַּנְפֵי) that stirs up its nest,
that flutters over its young,
spreading out its wings (כַּנְפֵי) catching them,
bearing (שָׂאָה) them on its pinions.'

This idea and expression are rooted in the Sinai covenant message (Ex.19:4) - how I bore you on eagles' wings (אֲשָׂא אֶתְכֶם עַל-כַּנְפֵי נְשָׁרִים)

v.10, 'He found him (יִמְצָאֵהוּ) in a desert land, (בְּאֶרֶץ מִדְבָּר)
and in the howling waste of the wilderness.'

G.von Rad comments that 'a tradition according to which Jahweh "found Israel in the wilderness" is obviously old' and is still echoed in Hos.9:10, Dt.32:10.'

In Deut.32 the mighty acts of YHWH which are partly rooted in the Sinai covenant tradition are described in the covenant Rib form.

Accordingly the wilderness tradition (a part of the salvation history) and the Sinai (Covenant) tradition are not separated from one another, but are joined together.

1) cf. J.Wijngaards, The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed, pp.49-50.

2) On the omission of the Exodus theme in Dt.32:

G.von Rad, Old Testament Theology, p.177, Note 3., Vol.1.

"A tradition according to which Jahweh "found Israel in the wilderness" which is obviously old, has been almost completely overlaid by the Exodus tradition which alone became dominant."

b. Hosea.¹⁾

The book of Hosea preserves the description of the mighty acts of YHWH in the Exodus and the wilderness-period in the prophetic speech. Hosea uses the tradition of the mighty acts not only to testify to the graciousness of Yahweh, but also to contrast His continuing deeds of goodness with present infidelity and unfaithfulness of Israel, in the covenant Rib form.

i. The Exodus tradition.

The Exodus tradition is described in the self-revelation of YHWH, as the mighty act in some formulae, and the allusions to 'return to Egypt'. In the self-revelation:

12:10, 13:4, 'I am YHWH your God (אֲנִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ)
from the land of Egypt.'

As the mighty act in the 'העלה' formula:

12:14, 'By a prophet YHWH brought (העלה) Israel up from Egypt.'

In the 'קרא' formula:

11:1, 'Out of Egypt I called my son' (קראתי).

In the allusion "to return (שׁוּב) to Egypt":

8:13, 9:3, 11:5, 'They shall return (יָשׁוּב) to Egypt.'

This allusion implies that Israel came into existence only by gracious deliverance from Egypt.

ii. The Wilderness tradition.

The wilderness tradition is described as the mighty acts of YHWH on the one hand and as the rebellion of Israel on the other.²⁾

On YHWH's side:

11:3a, 'It was I who taught Ephraim to walk,
I took (קָחָם) them up in my arms.'

13:5, 'It was I who knew you in the wilderness (יָדַעְתִּיךָ)
in the land of drought.'

2:16, 'Behold, I will allure her,
and bring her into the wilderness
and speak tenderly to her.'

9:10, 'Like grapes in the wilderness,
I found Israel.' (מָצָאתִי)

1) cf. W.Brueggemann, Tradition for Crisis, A Study in Hosea, Richmond, 1968, esp. pp. 26f.

2) On the rebellion of Israel in the wilderness, see further, pp. 286, 339.

iii. The Combination of the Exodus and Wilderness Traditions

The combined Exodus - Wilderness tradition occurs in the covenant Rib form as an expression of YHWH's goodness in contrast with the rebellion and unfaithfulness of Israel: (Hos.11:1-3, 13:4-6)

11:1-3 'When Israel was a child, I loved him,
and out of Egypt I called my son,
The more I called them,
the more they went from Me.
They kept sacrificing to the Baals,
and burning incense to idols,
Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk,
I took them up in My arms
but they did not know that I healed them.'

Then follow the descriptions of Israel's breach of the covenant (v.5b,7a) and of Israel's judgement by YHWH (v.6, 7b).

13:4-6 'I am YHWH your God from the land of Egypt;
you know no God but Me,
and besides Me there is no saviour.
It was I who knew you in the wilderness -
but when they had fed to the full,
they were filled and their heart was lifted up
therefore they forgot Me.'

Again, the description of YHWH's judgement follows, because of Israel's breach of the covenant relationship (v.6: they forgot Me ('שכחתי)).

Accordingly the Exodus and wilderness traditions of the mighty acts of YHWH are not separated from the covenant tradition, but are joined together in Hosea. In the covenant Rib form the description of the mighty acts of YHWH (Exodus - Wilderness traditions) takes the place of the historical prologue, i.e., as a prelude to YHWH's indictment against Israel's covenant-breaking.¹⁾

1) See further p. 221, 263-264.

c. The Asaph-Psalms

The Asaph-Psalms contain the descriptions of the mighty acts of YHWH in the deliverance from Egypt, in the wilderness, and in the entry into the land.

i. The Exodus tradition

Several formulae are used to characterise the Exodus tradition, in the self-revelation of YHWH and His mighty acts;

The self-revelation:

Ps.81:11 'I am YHWH your God,
who brought (המעיך) you out of the land of Egypt.'

The mighty act:

The "העלה" formula occurs once (Ps.81:11) in the Psalms.

The "אֶלֶּלְיָהּ" formula: Ps.105:37 43 136:11.

The "עָשָׂה" formula: Ps.78:12 (43), 105:5 (27), 106:21 (13).

Ps.78:12 'In the sight of their fathers,
He did marvellous things in the land of Egypt -'.

The marvellous acts of YHWH are described in contrast with the unfaithfulness of Israel and their disobedience to YHWH.

Ps.81:12 'But My people did not listen (לֹא-שָׁמַע) to My voice:
Israel would have none of Me.'

Ps.78:11 'They forgot (נִשְׁכַּח) what He had done,
and the miracles that He had shown them.'

ii. The Wilderness tradition

The Wilderness Tradition is preserved in descriptions of the merciful acts of YHWH in the wilderness in giving the people the water (Ps.78:16, 105:41), the manna (Ps.78:24, 105:40b), and quails (105:40a, 78:27), in contrast with the rebellion and unfaithfulness of Israel in the wilderness-period.¹⁾

1) See further pp.340f.

iii. The Entry tradition

The tradition finds expression in certain formulae, which stress the mighty acts of YHWH:

The " נָטַע " formula: YHWH's planting Israel Ps.80:9.

Ps.80:9 'Thou didst bring a vine out of Egypt,
thou didst - plant it (נָטַעְתָּ)' cf. Jer.2:21.

Significantly this description makes a close link between the exodus and the settlement.

The " נָתַתִּי " formula: YHWH's giving the land Ps.105:11,44

Ps.105:11 'To you I will give (נָתַתִּי) the land of Canaan,
as your portion for an inheritance.'

iv. The Historical prologue and the Sinai covenant tradition.

In certain Asaph-Psalms the descriptions of the mighty acts of YHWH (in the Exodus, in the Wilderness, and in the settlement) occur in connection with the Sinai covenant tradition.

Ps.81:6 'I tested you at the waters of Meribah. (in the wilderness)

v.7 'Hear, O My people, while I admonish you!
O Israel if you would but listen to Me!' (Ex.19:3)

v.8 'There shall be no strange god among you;
you shall not bow down to a foreign god.' (Ex.20:3)

v.9 'I am YHWH your God,
who brought you up out of the land of Egypt.' (Exodus)

v.10 'But My people did not listen to My voice:
Israel would have none of Me'.

In Ps.81 the mighty acts of YHWH and the Sinai covenant tradition are described together, not separated from one another.

In the cases of Ps.78 and 105, H.B. Huffmon suggests that

"Ps.78 and 105 emphasise the connection of the mighty acts with the covenant."¹⁾

1) H.B. Huffmon, "The Exodus, Sinai and the Credo", CBQ 27, 1965, p.107.

4. Characteristics of the covenant history in Jeremiah ch.2.

a. The three-fold saving acts of YHWH.

In Jeremiah ch.2 the saving acts of YHWH are described in three-fold expression: Exodus in the 'העלה' formula, Wilderness-wandering in the 'הללך' formula, and Entry in the 'הבאת' formula.

This three-fold description of the saving act of YHWH stands on the covenant and covenant-Rib tradition flowing through Ex.19:3-8, Jud.2:1-5, Deut.32, Hosea, and the Asaph-Psalms. At the same time this three-fold saving act of YHWH consists of an important element of the Covenant-Rib form in Jeremiah 2 as the historical prologue.

i. The three-fold description of the saving acts of YHWH occurs in Ex.19:3-8, which is the 'origo' of the covenant tradition.

Ex.19:4, 'You have seen what I did to the Egyptians
and how I bore you on eagles' wings and
brought you to Myself.' (אֲנִי)

ii. An expression of YHWH's saving acts identical with that in Jeremiah ch.2 occurs in Jud.2:1-5 as the combination of Exodus 'העלה' formula and Entry 'הבאת' formula.

Jud.2:1, 'I brought you (העלה) up from Egypt,
and brought you (הבאת) into the land.'

iii. Deut.32 describes a poetic statement of the wilderness and entry theme which is partly rooted in the Sinai covenant message (Ex.19:4) and partly echoes on Hos.9:10.

In Hosea the combined Exodus-Wilderness tradition occurs in the covenant Rib form (Hos.11:1-3, 13:4-6).

In the Asaph-Psalms the combined Exodus-Wilderness theme (Ps.81:6,11) and Exodus-Settlement theme (Ps.80:9) occur.

The Characteristics of the description of the saving acts in Jeremiah ch.2 are that on one side it is the same three-fold style as the covenant message in Ex.19:3-8, while on the other side Jeremiah applies this tradition to the contemporary situation indicating the unfaithful response of Israel:

'Never did they ask, "Where is YHWH?
 who brought us out of the land of Egypt, (המעלה)
 who led us in the wilderness -" (המוליך)
 I brought you into a fruitful land, (אביא)
 But when you entered in, you defiled My land -'

The three-fold saving acts of YHWH play an important role as the historical prologue in the covenant Rib form, in contrast with the three-fold negative response of unfaithful Israel.

b. The Three-fold negative response of Israel

In the formulation of the Sinai/Horeb and Shechem covenants, the faithful responses of the covenant-people are described in the following three-fold expressions:¹⁾

i. At Sinai (Ex.19:8, Ex.24:3 7):

Ex.19:8 'And all the people answered together and said,
"All that YHWH has spoken we will do."

(וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל אֲשֶׁר-דִּבֶּר יְהוָה נַעֲשֶׂה)

24:3 'and all the people answered with one voice, and said
"All the words which YHWH has spoken we will do."

(וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל-הַדְּבָרִים אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר יְהוָה נַעֲשֶׂה)

24:7 'and they (the people) said,

"All that YHWH has spoken we will do, and we will obey."

(וַיֹּאמְרוּ כָל אֲשֶׁר-דִּבֶּר יְהוָה נַעֲשֶׂה וְנִשְׁמָע)

ii. At Shechem (Josh.24:18,21,24)

Josh.24:18 'Then the people answered (v.16)

"therefore, we will serve YHWH

(גַּם-אֲנַחְנוּ נַעֲבֹד אֶת יְהוָה)

for He is our God."

21 'And the people said to Joshua,

"Nay; but we will serve YHWH". (כִּי אַתָּה-יְהוָה נַעֲבֹד)

24 'And the people said to Joshua,

"YHWH our God we will serve, and His voice we will obey." (אֶת-יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ נַעֲבֹד, וּבְקוֹלוֹ נִשְׁמָע)

1) cf. K. Baltzer, Das Bundesformular, 1960, pp.38-39.

Jeremiah Ch.2 described the negative response of Israel in a similar three-fold style: in one example 'לֹא כִי' is used and in the other 'לֹא'.

i. In the literary expression using the negative 'לֹא כִי'.

A description of Israel's negative response unique to Jeremiah Ch.2 is the one concerning the "two sins" of Israel (v.13), which uses the " " form in three-fold repetition.

v.20, 'You said, "I will not serve (you) (לֹא אַעבֹד)
but (כִּי) (I will go) upon every high hill
and under every green tree."

v.25, 'You said "It is hopeless. No! (לֹא),
but (כִּי) I loved strangers
and after them I will go.

v.34 'You did not (לֹא) get it by housebreaking,
but (כִּי) under every oak.
Yet you said, "I am innocent."

These passages indicate two evils. One is transgression against YHWH and His "mishpatim" - Israel's breaking the covenant.
The other is apostasy and Baal-worship.

ii. In the literary expression using the negative 'לֹא'.

Israel's negative response is described in YHWH's indictment which is couched in the same three-fold style.

v.23, 'How can you say "I am not (לֹא) defiled,
after Baals I have not (לֹא) gone?"

v.31, 'Why do My people say "we roam,
no more we will come (אָנֹכִי-אָבֹא) to Thee!"

v.35 'Behold, I will bring you to judgement,
because you said "I have not (לֹא) sinned."

It is characteristic of Jeremiah that he altered the covenantal response form to the negative response form expressed with the grammatical negative and then applied this to his contemporary situation over against apostate Israel.

c. Positive and Negative Structure in the Covenant Rib Form.

In the historical prologue, YHWH's mighty acts are described in the positive three-fold expression and in the "Hiphil form" of the verbs. In the accusation against Israel, by contrast, Israel's negative response and her activities are described in the negative expressions and in the "Qal form" of the verbs.

i. הוֹלִיךְ in the positive and הִלֵּךְ in the negative constructions.

YHWH's side: v.6, 'YHWH who led (הוֹלִיךְ) us in the wilderness'.

Israel's v.23 'How can you say,
"After Baals I have not gone"' (לֹא הִלַּכְתִּי)

v.25 'I will go after strange (gods)' (אֶלֶךְ)

v.5, 'They followed "Emptiness."' (וַיִּלְכוּ)

In spite of YHWH's gracious act in leading Israel in the wilderness Israel has not responded in faith to YHWH, but has gone after Baals which are "No-gods" and "Emptiness."

ii. הָבִיא in the positive and בָּרַח in the negative constructions.

YHWH's side: v.7, 'I brought (הָבִיא) you into a fruitful land.'

Israel's: v.7, 'When you entered in (בָּרַח)
you defiled My land,
and made My heritage an domination.

v.31 'No more we will come (לָרַח) to Thee.'

In spite of YHWH's gracious act which brought Israel (הָבִיא) to "Myself" (Ex.19:4b) and into 'a fruitful land' (Jer.2:7) Israel does not respond in faith to YHWH, but says "we will not come to (לָרַח) YHWH." This is a fine contrast-expression.

iii. העלה in the positive construction and עלב in the negative.

YHWH's side: v.6 'YHWH who brought (המעלה) us out of - Egypt.'

Israel's: v.20 'You said, "I will not serve (Thee)!"' (לא אעבד)

According to the documents which have come down to us, when the covenant message was proclaimed in the Shechem covenant ceremony, the people answered: "we will serve YHWH" (נעבד את יהוה)
(Josh.24:18,21,24).

In Jeremiah ch.2 the answers of the people are couched in similar terms, but with this difference that they are now transposed into the negative: "I will not serve (Thee)!"

In these circumstances, how can Israel be "the people of YHWH"? How can Israel walk in Israel's way following YHWH and knowing YHWH? Jeremiah believes that there is one possibility for Israel: i.e. YHWH's merciful act - His gracious initiative toward Israel. Interestingly Jeremiah presents this initiative act of YHWH in the "Hiphil" form."

Jer.2:6, 'YHWH led Israel (המוליך)
v.3, then (they) followed Him' (לכתך)
v.7, 'I (YHWH) brought you (Israel) (אביא)
then you entered into (His land).' (רתבאר)¹⁾

In the covenant Rib form Jeremiah presented YHWH's merciful acts and Israel's apostasy. The covenant Rib of YHWH has as its aim the restoration of the covenant relationship between YHWH and His people - there is only one possibility for this: i.e. the merciful act of YHWH.

1) Jer.11:18 'YHWH made it known (הודיעני) to me,
then I knew (ראדעה).' (cf. 16:21)

17:14, 'O YHWH save me (הושעה)
then I shall be saved' (ראדעה)

31:18, 'Bring me back, (השיבני)
then I shall be restored' (ראשונה)
for Thou art YHWH my God'. (כי אתה יהוה אלהי)

31:8-9 'Behold, I will bring them (מביא) back from -
with weeping they shall come.' (יבאר)

CONCLUSION.

=====

In this thesis a form critical and theological study of Jeremiah chapter 2 has been made. In particular, the investigation has demonstrated that the material in Jeremiah ch.2 stands in a stream of tradition through Deut.32, Hosea, the Asaph-Psalms and Jeremiah ch.2 - a tradition which has as its centre the covenant Rib pattern.

- i. The terminology and the covenant Rib form and its content are common to Deut.32, Hosea, Jeremiah ch.2 and the Asaph-Psalms. The Covenant Rib form contains the following common elements: -
 1. Appeal to the heavens (and earth) and the people of Israel.
 2. Historical prologue: the mighty acts of YHWH.
 3. Interrogation: Rhetorical questions in YHWH's address.
 4. Accusation.
 5. Judgement.
- ii. They are rooted partly in the Sinai covenant tradition (the origo of which is Ex.19:3-8) and in the covenant Rib Tradition (the origo of which is Jud. 2:1-5).

The covenant Rib tradition has been formulated and developed in face of the religious crises throughout the course of the history of Israel; to give expression to Israel's repentance, and for use in the penitential service.

The covenant Rib tradition has its origin and provenance in North Israel in the prophetic-levitical circles which may be connected with the people of the Asaph-Psalms.

The theology of the covenant Rib tradition was regarded as a vital part of YHWH's judgement upon Israel's rebellion and covenant-breaking. In each occurrence of the covenant Rib form, the Exodus tradition and the Sinai covenant tradition are not separated from one another, but joined together.

Jeremiah chapter 2 stands on the covenant Rib tradition, but it has its own special characteristics.

- i. The three-fold saving act of YHWH: expressed in the Exodus העלה , the Wilderness הגלית , and Entry אכלת formulae.
- ii. The three-fold negative response of Israel, expressed by the negatives לא and כי .
- iii. Concerning the three-fold sphere: cultic, legal, and international.

Jeremiah does not merely perpetuate the covenant Rib tradition, but also applies the tradition to his contemporary situation, as seen in the light of his own higher personal experience and thought.

A b b r e v i a t i o n s

1. Commentaries.

AncB	The Anchor Bible	New York
ATD	Das Alte Testament Deutsch	Göttingen
BC	Bible Commentary	Missouri
BK	Biblischer Kommentar	Neukirchen
CambB	Cambridge-Bible for Schools and Colleges	Cambridge
CentB	The Century Bible	London
HAT	Handbuch zum Alten Testament	Tübingen
HK	Handkommentar zum Alten Testament	Göttingen
HS	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments	Bonn
HSAT	Die Heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments	Tübingen
IB	Interpreter's Bible	New York
ICC	The International Critical Commentary on the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments	Edinburgh
KAT	Kommentar zum Alten Testament	Leipzig
KHC	Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum AT	Tübingen
New CB	The New Century Bible - New Edition	London
OTL	Old Testament Library	London
SAT	Die Schriften des AT	Göttingen
SZ	Kurzgefasster Kommentar zu den heiligen Schriften Alten und Neuen Testamentes	München
TB	Torch Bible Commentaries	London
WestC	The Westminster Commentaries	London
	* *	* *
NewCC	New Catholic Commentary on Holy Scriptures. London, 1969	
PCB	Peake's Commentary on the Bible, New Ed. London, 1962	
JBC	Jerome Biblical Commentary London, 1968	

2. Bible Translation.

AV	Authorised King James Version
ML	Die Bibel nach der deutschen Übersetzung Martin Luthers
RV	The Revised Version

RSV	Revised Standard Version	1952
JerusB	Jerusalem Bible	
NEB	The New English Bible	1970
 3. <u>Journals and Composite Works.</u>		
ANEP	The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B.Pritchard,	1954
ANET	Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament, ed. J.B.Pritchard, (2 ed.)	1955
ATANT	Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments.	Zürich
BA	The Biblical Archaeologist	New Haven
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research	New Haven
BDB	F.Brown, S.R.Driver and C.A.Briggs, A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament. Reprinted with corrections:	Oxford (1907) 1955
BEvTh	Beiträge zur Evangelischen Theologie	München
BH(K)	Biblia Hebraica, ed. R.Kittel	Stuttgart, 1954
Bibl	Biblica	Rome
BJRL	Bulletin of the John Rylands Library	Manchester
BT	The Bible Translator	London
BHW	Biblisch-Historisches Handwörterbuch	Göttingen, 1962-66
BWA(N)T	Beiträge zur Wissenschaft vom Alten (und Neuen) Testament	Stuttgart
BZAW	Beiheft zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft	(Giessen) Berlin
BZ	Biblische Zeitschrift (new series from 1957)	(Freiburg i.Br.) Paderborn
CBQ	The Catholic Biblical Quarterly	Washington
ET	English translation	
EvTh	Evangelische Theologie	München
ExpT	Expository Times	Edinburgh
FRLANT	Forschungen zur Religion und Literatur des Alten und Neuen Testaments	Göttingen
Ges.K.	Gesenius, W.-E. Kautzsch, ET. Gesenius's Hebrew Grammar, by A.E. Cowley. (2 ed)	Oxford, 1952

GAAT	Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament (W. Zimmerli)	München, 1963
HT(h)R	The Harvard Theological Review	Cambridge/ Mass.
HUCA	The Hebrew Union College Annual	Cincinnati (Ohio)
IDB	The Interpreter's Dictionary of the Bible	New York
Interp.	Interpretation	Richmond (Virginia)
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society	New Haven (Boston)
JBL	Journal of Biblical Literature	New York, New Haven
JBR	Journal of Bible and Religion	Boston
JJS	The Journal of Jewish Studies	London
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies	Chicago/Ill.
* JSS	Journal of Semitic Studies	Manchester
JT(h)S	Journal of Theological Studies	Oxford
KBL	L. Köhler-W. Baumgartner, Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti Libros	Leiden, 1958
* JQR	Jewish Quarterly Review	Philadelphia
LXX	The Septuagint	
Lisowsky	G. Lisowsky-L. Rost, Konkordanz zum Hebräischen Alten Testament, a Aufl.	Stuttgart, 1958
MT	The Massoretic Text	
SR	Seishogaku-Ronshu (Studies of the Bible)	Tokyo
Textus	Textus: Annual of the Hebrew University Bible Project	Jerusalem 1960f.
NKZ	Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift	Erlangen, Leipzig
OTS	Oudtestamentische Studiën	Leiden
OTL	Old Testament Library	London
OTMS	The Old Testament and Modern Study, ed. H. H. Rowley	Oxford, 1951
RGG	Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart	Tübingen, 1961
RQ	Revue de Qumran	Paris
SBT	Studies in Biblical Theology	London (SCM)
SBTT	The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow	Chicago, 1947
SEA	Svensk Exegetisk Arsbok	Lund

SJTh	Scottish Journal of Theology	Edinburgh
SVT	Supplements to Vetus Testamentum	Leiden
ThDNT	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament	London, 1964
ThLZ	Theologische Literaturzeitung	(Leipzig) Berlin
ThR	Theologische Rundschau	Tübingen
Th.Today	Theology Today	Princeton (N.Y.)
ThWNT	Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament, herausgegeben von R.Kittel	Stuttgart, 1932f.
ThZ	Theologische Zeitschrift	Basel
UUA	Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift	Uppsala
VT	Vetus Testamentum	Leiden
WMANT	Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament	Neukirchen
WO	Die Welt des Orients	Göttingen
WuD	Wort und Dienst, Jahrbuch der Theologischen Schule Bethel	Bielefeld
ZT(h)K	Zeitschrift für Theologie und Kirche	Tübingen
ZAW	Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft	(Giessen) Berlin

4. Festschriften.

<u>BANE</u>	Albright-Festschrift, <u>The Bible and the Ancient Near East,</u> ed. by G.E.Wright	1961
<u>IPH</u>	J.Muilenburg-Festschrift, <u>Israel's Prophetic Heritage,</u> ed. by B.W.Anderson and W.Harrelson	1962, New York
<u>SOTP</u>	T.H.Robinson-Festschrift, <u>Studies in Old Testament Prophecy,</u> ed. by H.H.Rowley	1950, Edinburgh
<u>PAP</u>	G.H.Davies-Festschrift, <u>Proclamation and Presence,</u> ed. by J.I.Durham and J.R.Porter	1970, London
<u>TUOT</u>	H.G.May-Festschrift, <u>Translating and Understanding the Old Testament,</u> ed. by H.T.Frank and W.L.Reed	1970, New York

- | | | |
|--------------------------------|--|--------------------|
| <u>TuS</u> | A.Weiser-Festschrift,
<u>Tradition und Situation</u> ,
ed. by W.Würthwein and O.Kaiser | 1963,
Göttingen |
| <u>VuH</u> | W.Rudolph-Festschrift,
<u>Verbannung und Heimkehr</u> ,
ed. by A.Kuschke | 1961,
Tübingen |
| <u>WaM</u> | D.W.Thomas-Festschrift
<u>Words and Meanings</u> ,
ed. by P.R.Ackroyd and B.Lind ers rs | 1968,
Cambridge |
| <u>Bertholet-</u>
<u>F.</u> | Bertholet-Festschrift,
ed. by W.Baumgartner, O.Eissfeldt,
K.Elliger, L.Rost | 1950,
Tübingen |

Bibliography (I)

I. Text, Lexicon, Concordance, and Grammar.

A. Text: MT, LXX, DSS.

a. MT.

BH(K) 3rd - Biblia Hebraica,
ed. R.Kittel & P.Kahle, 3rd ed. 1937 Stuttgart
7th ed. 1954

BHS - Biblia Hebraica Stuttgartensia 1968
ed. K.Elliger et W.Rudolph.

Liber Jesaiae, ed. by D.Winton Thomas 1968 Stuttgart

Liber Psalmorum, ed. by H.Bardtke 1969 Stuttgart

The Book of Isaiah, The Hebrew 1965 Jerusalem
University Bible Project - HUBP -

Prophetarum Posteriorum Codex Babylonicus 1876
Petropolitanus, (St.Petersburg)
ed. H.Strack Petropoli.

Hebrew Old Testament, ed. by N.H.Snaith. 1958 London

b. LXX.

Septuaginta. Ieremias, ed. J.Ziegler. 1957 Göttingen

Septuaginta, ed. A.Rahlfs. 1935 Stuttgart

The Old Testament in Greek, ed. 1894 Cambridge
H.B.Swete.

Origenis Hexaplorum quae Supersunt, 1875 Oxford
ed. F.Field.

c. Hebrew MSS of Jeremiah.

Eb 15, I, 2 Cambridge A 39, 10,
Jer. 1:14 - 2:22.

T.S.12, 197, Jer.1:1 - 2:29.

Brit. Mus. MS Or. 4445.

DSS of the book of Jeremiah.

Baillet,M., Milik,J.T., de Vaux,R.: 1962 Oxford
Les petites Grottes de Qumran:
Discoveries in the Judaean Desert of
Jordan, Vol.3, pp. 62-69.

B. Lexicon.

- Gesenius,W., Hebräisches und aramäisches 1954 Berlin-
Handwörterbuch über das Alte Göttingen-
Testament. Heidelberg.
- Brown,F., Hebrew and English Lexicon of 1955 Oxford
 Driver,S.R., the Old Testament. - BDB
 Briggs,C.A.
- Köhler,L., Lexicon in Veteris Testamenti 1958 Leiden
 Baumgärtner, Libros. - KBL
 W.
- Liddell,H.G. A Greek-English Lexicon. 1869 Oxford
 Scott,R.
- Lampe,G.W.H. A Patristic Greek Lexicon. 1965- Oxford
 8

C. Concordance.

- Lisowsky,G. Konkordanz zum hebräischen 1958 Stuttgart
 Rost,L. Alten Testament.
- Mandelkern, Veteris Testamenti Concordan- 1955 Graz
 S. tiae hebraicae atque
Chaldaicae. (Nachdruck)
- Hatch,E. A Concordance to the Septuagint 1897 Oxford
 Redpath,H.A. and the other Greek Versions of
the Old Testament. Vols.I - II.

D. Grammar.

- | | | |
|------------------------------|---|----------------------|
| Gesenius, W.
Kautzsch, E. | <u>Hebräische Grammatik.</u>
ET. - <u>Gesenius Hebrew</u>
<u>Grammar.</u> | 1952 Oxford |
| Brockelmann, C. | <u>Hebräische Syntax.</u> | 1956 Neukir-
chen |
| Thackeray, H. J. | <u>Grammar of the Old</u>
<u>Testament in Greek.</u> | 1909 Cambridge |

B i b l i o g r a p h y (II)

Commentaries.

- | | | | | |
|--------|---------------------|--|--------------|----------------------|
| | Calvin, J. | <u>Commentaries on the Prophet
Jeremiah and Lamentations.</u>
ET. | 1850 | Edinburgh |
| | Graf, K.H. | <u>Der Prophet Jeremiah.</u> | 1862 | Leipzig |
| KeH | Hitzig, F. | <u>Der Prophet Jeremia.</u>
(2) | 1841
1966 | Leipzig |
| | Nägelsbach, E. | <u>Der Prophet Jeremias und
Babylon.</u> | 1850 | Erlangen |
| | | <u>The Book of the Prophet
Jeremiah.</u> ET. | 1871 | Edinburgh |
| CambB | Streane, A.W. | <u>Jeremiah and Lamentations.</u>
(3) | 1885
1913 | Cambridge |
| SZ | Orelli, C. von | <u>The Prophecies of Jeremiah.</u>
ET. | 1889 | Edinburgh |
| KHC | Duhm, B. | <u>Das Buch Jeremia.</u> | 1901 | Tübingen,
Leipzig |
| EK | Cornill, C.H. | <u>Das Buch Jeremia.</u> | 1905 | Leipzig |
| | | <u>The Book of the Prophet
Jeremiah.</u> | 1895 | Leipzig |
| HK | Giesebrecht,
F. | <u>Das Buch Jeremia.</u> | 1907 | Göttingen |
| | Driver, S.R. | <u>The Book of the Prophet
Jeremiah.</u> | 1908 | London |
| Cent-B | Peake, A.S. | <u>Jeremiah, Vols. I - II.</u> | 1912 | Edinburgh |
| EB | Condamin,
A.S.J. | <u>Le livre de Jérémie.</u>
(3) | 1920
1936 | Paris |
| KAT | Volz, P. | <u>Der Prophet Jeremia.</u> (2) | 1928 | Leipzig |
| HS | Nötscher, F. | <u>Das Buch Jeremia.</u> | 1934 | Bonn |

WestC	Elliott-Binns, L.	<u>Jeremiah, A Prophet for a Time of War.</u>	1941	London
HAT	Rudolph, W.	<u>Jeremia.</u>	1947	Tübingen
ATD	Weiser, A.	<u>Der Prophet Jeremia.</u>	1952	Göttingen
	Leslie, E. A.	<u>Jeremiah.</u>	1954	New York
IB	Hyatt, J. P.	<u>Jeremiah.</u>	1956	New York
	Sekine, Masao	<u>Jeremia-sho.</u>	1959	Tokyo
TB	Jones, C.	<u>The Book of Jeremiah.</u>	1960	London
AncB	Bright, J.	<u>Jeremiah.</u>	1965	New York

One-Volume Commentaries.

JBC	Couturier, G. P.	Jeremiah. pp. 300-336.	1968	London
PCB	Paterson, J.	Jeremiah, pp. 537-562.	1962	London
NewCC	McNamara, M.	Jeremiah, pp. 601-624.	1969	London

Bibliography (III)

- List of works consulted in the preparation of this thesis -

- Ackroyd, P.R. "Historians and Prophets", 1968
SEA 33, pp. 18-54.
- "Hosea and Jacob", VT 13, 1963
 pp. 245-259.
- Alt, A. "The Origins of Israelite Law", 1966 Oxford
 in Essays on Old Testament History and Religion.
- Albrektson, B. "On the Syntax of אֱלֹהֵי אֲשֶׁר אֱלֹהֵי
 in Exodus 3:14", in D.W.Thomas-
 Festschrift, Words and Meanings,
 pp. 15-28.
- Albright, W.F. From the Stone Age to Christianity, 1946 New York
 2nd ed. 1957
- "New Light on Early Recensions of 1955
 the Hebrew Bible", BASOR 140,
 pp. 27-33.
- "Some Remarks on the Song of Moses 1959
 in Dt. 32," VT 9, pp. 339-46.
- Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan, 1968 London
- "The Psalm of Habakkuk", T.H.Robin-1950
 son-Festschrift, Studies in O.T.
Prophecy, pp. 1-18.
- Anderson, G.W. A Critical Introduction to the 1959 London
 Old Testament.
- "The Psalms" in PCB New Ed., 1962 London
 pp. 409-443.
- Auerbach, E. Wüste und gelobtes Land, I. 1932 Berlin

- Auerbach, E. Moses. 1953 Amsterdam
- Augustin, F. "Baruch und das Buch Jeremias", 1955
ZAW 67, pp. 50-56.
- Bach, R. "Die Erwählung Israels in der Wüste", 1953
TLZ 78, p. 687.
(Doctoral-Desertation, Bonn, 1952)
- Die Aufforderungen zur Flucht und zum 1962 Neukir-
Kampf im A.T. Prophetenspruch, WMANT 9, chen
- Baltzer, K. Das Bundesformular, WMANT 4, 1960 Neukir-
chen
- "Considerations Regarding the Office 1968
and Calling of the Prophet", HTHR 61
pp. 567-581.
- Barr, J. The Semantics of Biblical Language 1961 Oxford
- Barth, C. "Zur Bedeutung der Wüstentradiation", 1966 Leiden
SVT 15, pp. 14-23.
- Barthélemy, D. Les Devanciers d'Aquila, SVT 10, 1963
- Bauer, J.B. *Könige und Priester, ein heiliges 1958
Volk, Ex. 19:6, BZ N.F. 2
- Baumann, A. "Urrolle und Fasttag", ZAW 80, 1968
pp. 350-373.
- Baumann, E. " יְיָ und seine Derivate", ZAW 28, 1908
pp. 22-41, 110-143.
- "Wissen um Gott bei Hosea als Urform 1955
von Theologie?", EvTh 15, pp. 416-425.
- "Das Lied Moses (Dt. 32:1-43)", VT 6, 1956
pp. 421-24.

- Baumgärtel, F. "Die Form ne'um jahwe", ZAW 73, 1961
pp. 277-289.
- "Zu den Gottesnamen in Büchern Jeremia und Ezechiel", Rudolph-Festschrift, pp. 1-29. 1961 Tübingen
- Begrich, J. "Das priesterliche Heilsorakel," ZAW 52, 1934
pp. 81-92.
- "Die priesterliche Tora" in Werden und Wesen des A.T., BZAW 66, pp. 63-88. 1936
- Studien zu Deuterojesaja, BWANT 1938
- Bentzen, A. Introduction to the Old Testament, 1948 Copenha-
(5th) 1959 gen
- "The Weeping of Jacob, Hos.12:5a", 1951
VT I, pp. 58-59.
- Berridge, J.M. Prophet, People and the Word of Yahweh. 1970 Zürich
- Beyer, K. Spruch und Predigt bei den vorexil Schriftpropheten. 1933 Erlangen
- Beyerlin, W. Herkunft und Geschichte der ältesten Sinai-traditionen, 1961 Tübingen
- ET. Origins and History of the oldest Sinaitic Traditions. 1965 Oxford
- "Gattung und Herkunft des Rahmens im Richterbuch", in A.Weiser-Festschrift Tradition und Situation, pp. 1-29. 1963 Göttingen
- "Geschichte und heilsgeschichtliche Traditionsbildung im A.T.", VT 13, pp. 1-25. 1963
- Boecker, H.J. Redeformen des Rechtslebens im Alten Testament, WMANT 14. 1964 Neukirchen

- Botterweck, J. Gott Erkennen: im Sprachgebrauch des Alten Testaments. 1951 Bonn
- Bright, J. "The Date of the Prose Sermons of Jeremiah", JBL 70, pp. 15-35. 1951
- Jeremiah, AncB. 1965 New York
- "The Book of Jeremiah, its Structure, its Problems", Interp. 9, pp. 259-78. 1955
- "The Prophetic Reminiscence: its Place and Function in the Book of Jeremiah", in Biblical Essays: Die Ou-Testamentiese Werkgemeenskap in Suid-Afrika, Proceedings 1966, pp. 11-33. 1966
- History of Israel, OTL. 1960
- Brueggemann, W. Tradition for Crisis, A Study in Hosea. 1968 Richmond
- Buber, M. The Prophetic Faith. (1949) 1960 New York
- Moses. 1946 London
- Right and Wrong, - An Interpretation of Some Psalms -, SCM. 1952 London
- Buber, M., - Die Schrift und ihre Verdeutschung, pp. 211f., 262f. 1936 Berlin
Rosenzweig, F.
- Budde, K. "The Nomadic Ideal in the Old Testament," 1895
New World 4, pp. 726-745.
- Bultmann, R. Πινώριον in ThWNT.
ET. - ThDNT Vol. I. 1964 London
- Burchard, C. Bibliographie zu den Handschriften vom Toten Meer. Vol. I 1957
BZAW 89. Vol. II 1965 Berlin

- Burkitt, F.C. Fragments of the Books of Kings according to the Translation of Aquila. 1897 Cambridge
- Buss, M.J. The Prophetic Word of Hosea, BZAW 111. 1969 Berlin
- "The Psalms of Asaph and Korah", JBL 82, pp. 382-392. 1963
- Caspari, W. "Das priesterliche Königreich," ThBl 8 1929
- Childs, B.S. Memory and Tradition in Israel, SBT 37. 1962 London
- Clements, R.E. Prophecy and Covenant, SBT 43. 1965 London
- Coats, G.W. Rebellion in the Wilderness: The Murmuring Motif in the Wilderness Traditions of O.T. 1968 New York
- "The Tradition-Historical Character of the Reed Sea Motif", VT 17, pp. 253-265. 1967
- "The Song of the Sea", CBQ 31, pp. 1-17 1969
- Cody, A. A History of Old Testament Priesthood. 1969 Rome
- Cornill, O.H. Das Buch Jeremia. 1905 Leipzig
- Cross, F.M. "The Council of Yahweh in Second Isaiah," JNES 12, pp. 274-277. 1953
- ALQ - The Ancient Library of Qumran and Modern Biblical Studies, 1958 London
- "A New Qumran Biblical Fragment Related to the Original Hebrew Underlying the Septuagint", BASOR 132, p. 24. 1953
- OMQ - "The Oldest Manuscript from Qumran", JBL 74, pp. 147-72. 1955

- Cross, F.M. "Cave 4 of Qumran (4Q)", BA 19, 1956
pp. 83-96.
- "The Dead Sea Scrolls", IB 12, pp. 645 1957
-67.
- HBT - "The History of the Biblical 1964
Text in the Light of Discoveries in
the Judaean Desert", HTR 57, pp. 281-
99.
- QCD - "The Contribution of the Qumran 1966
Discoveries to the Study of the
Biblical Text", IEJ 16, pp. 81-95.
- "The Development of the Jewish 1961
Scripts", Albright-Festschrift,
BANE, pp. 133-202.
- Cross, F.M. "The Council of Yahweh in Second 1953
& Isaiah", JNES 12, pp. 274-277.
Freedman
- Crüsemann, F. Studien zur Formgeschichte von Hymnus 1969 Naikir-
und Danklied in Israel, WMANT 32. chen
- Davidson, R. The Old Testament. 1964 London
- Biblical Criticism: The Pelican Guide 1970
to Modern Theology, Vol. 3.
- Driver, G.R. "Linguistic and Textual Problems, 1937
Jeremiah", JQR 28.
- The Judaean Scrolls - The Problem and 1965 Oxford
a Solution.
- "Aramaic Documents of the Fifth 1954
Century B.C."
- Driver, S.R. Deuteronomy, ICC. (3rd ed.) 1902 Edinburgh
- An Introduction to the Literature of 1913 Edinburgh
the Old Testament. (9th ed.)

- Driver, S.R. Notes on the Hebrew Text and the Topography of the Book of Samuel, (2nd ed.) 1913 Oxford
- The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah. 1908 London
- The Book of Exodus, Camb.B. 1911 Cambridge (1953)
- Duhm, B. Jeremia, KHC. 1901 Tübingen
- Eakin, F.E. "The Reed Sea and Baalism," JBL 86, pp. 378-384. 1967
- Eaton, J. "Problems of Translation in Psalm 23:3f", BT 16, pp. 171-6. 1965
- Eichrodt, W. Theologie des Alten Testaments, (5th) 1964 Stuttgart
ET. - Theology of the Old Testament. 1967 London
- Eissfeldt, O. Das Lied Moses Deuteronomium 32:1-43 und das Lehrgedicht Asaphs Psalm 78 samt einer Analyse der Umgebung des Mose-Liedes. 1958 Berlin
- The Old Testament: An Introduction. (ET.) 1965 Oxford
- Hexateuch-Synopse. 1922 Leipzig
- "Die älteste Erzählung vom Sinaibund", 1961
ZAW 73, pp. 137-146.
- "The Prophetic Literature" in OTMS, pp. 115-161. 1951 Oxford
- "Baalsamen und Jahwe", ZAW 57, pp. 1-31. 1939
- Ellermeier, F. Prophetie in Mari und Israel, Theologische und Orientalische Arbeiten 1. 1968 Herzberg
- Elliger, K. "Ich bin der Herr - Euer Gott." 1954
reprinted in KSAT pp. 211-231 1966 München

- Emerton, J.A. "A Consideration of Some Alleged Meanings of ך in Hebrew", JSS 15, pp. 145-180. 1970
- Flight, J.W. "The Nomadic Idea and Ideal", JBL 42, pp. 158-226. 1923
- Fohrer, G. "Remarks on Modern Interpretation of the Prophets", JBL 80, pp. 309-319. 1961
- Überlieferung und Geschichte des Exodus, 1964
BZAW 91.
- Einleitung in das Alte Testament. 1965 Heidelberg
(10th completely revised edition of E. Sellin, Einleitung in das Alte Testament, first published 1910).
- ET. - Introduction to the Old Testament. 1970 London
- Freedman, D.N. "Archaic Forms in Early Hebrew Poetry," 1960
ZAW 72, pp. 101-7.
- Funk, R.W. "The Wilderness", JBL 78, pp. 205-214. 1959
- Gehman, H.S. "The Hebraic Character of Septuagint Greek", VT 1, pp. 81-90. 1951
- "Hebraisms of the Old Greek Version of Genesis", VT 3, pp. 141-8. 1953
- "Ἀρχαϊσμοὶ in the Septuagint and its Relation to the Hebrew Original", VT 4, pp. 337-348. 1954
- Gemser, B. "The Rib or Controversy-Pattern in Hebrew Mentality", SVT 3. 1955 Leiden
- Gerleman, G. "The Song of Deborah in the Light of Stylistics", VT 1, pp. 168-180. 1951
- Gerstenberger, E. "Jeremiah's Complaints", JBL 82, pp. 393-408. 1963

- Gertner, M. "Appendix: An Attempt at an Interpretation of Hosea 12", VT 10, pp. 272-284. 1960
- Gibson, J.C.L. "Light from Mari on the Patriarchs", JSS 7, pp. 44-62. 1962
- Giesebrecht, F. Jeremias Metrik. 1905 Göttingen
- Ginsburg, C.D. Introduction to the Massoretico-Critical Edition of the Hebrew Bible. 1897 London
- Good, E.M. "Hosea 5:8-6:6. An Alternative to Alt", JBL 85, pp. 273-286. 1966
- "Hosea and the Jacob Tradition", VT 16, 1966 pp. 137-151.
- Gooding, D.W. "Aristeas and Septuagint Origins", VT 13, pp. 357-379. 1963
- Gordis, R. "Hosea's Marriage and Message", HUCA 25. 1954
- Goshen-Gottstein, M.H. "Theory and Practice of Textual Criticism", Textus 3, - The Text Critical Use of the Septuagint - 1963
- "Hebrew Biblical Manuscripts" - their History and their Place in the HUBP Edition - (HBM), Bibl. 48, pp. 243-90. 1967
- "The Authenticity of the Aleppo Codex", Textus I, pp. 17-58. 1960
- HUBP - The Book of Isaiah: Sample Edition with Introduction. The Hebrew University Bible Project. 1965 Jerusalem
- Gray, G.B. The Forms of Hebrew Poetry. 1915
- Gray, J. I & II Kings, OTL. 1964 London
- "The Desert Sojourn of the Hebrews and the Sinai-Horeb Tradition", VT 4. 1954

- Gressmann, H. Mose und seine Zeit, ERLANT, N.F.I 1913
- "Die literarische Analyse Deuteroderjesajas", ZAW 34, pp. 254-297. 1914
- Grether, O. Name und Wort Gottes im Alten Testament, 1934
BZAW 64.
- Gross, K. "Hoseas Einfluss auf Jeremias Anschauungen", NKZ 17, pp. 241-55, 327-343. 1931
- Gunkel, H. "Propheten II B. seit Amos", RGG¹, pp. 1538-1554.
- Die Propheten. 1917 Göttingen
- Gunkel, H. - Einleitung in die Psalmen. 1933 Göttingen
Begrich, J.
- Guthrie, H.H. Israel's Sacred Songs. 1966 New York
- Habel, N.C. YAHWEH versus Baal: A Conflict of Religious Culture. 1964 New York
- Halder, A. "The Notion of the Desert in Sumerian, Accadian and West Semitic Religions", JBL 70, pp. 340-341.
- Harrelson, W. "Guidance in the Wilderness", Interp. 1959
13, pp. 24-36.
- Interpreting the Old Testament. 1964 New York
- Hartmann, B. "Botenspruch", BHHW, vol. 1, pp. 268-9.
- Harvey, J. "Le Rib-Pattern: Requisitoire Prophétique sur la Rupture de l'Alliance", Bibl. 43, pp. 172-196. 1962 Rome
- Herder, J.M. The Spirit of Hebrew Poetry, I. 1833
- Hesse, F. "Wurzelt die prophetische Gerichtsrede im israelitischen Kult?", ZAW 65, pp. 45-53. 1953

- Hillers, D.R. Treaty-Curses and the Old Testament Prophets. 1964 Rome
- Covenant: The History of a Biblical Idea. 1969 Maryland
- Holladay, W.L. The Root šûbh in the Old Testament. 1958 Leiden
- "Jeremiah's Lawsuit with God", Interp. 1963
17, pp. 280-287.
- "Jeremiah and Moses", JBL 85, pp. 17-27. 1966
- "Prototype and Copies" - A New Approach 1960
to the Poetry-Prose Problem in the
Book of Jeremiah - JBL 79, pp. 351-367.
- "The Recovery of Poetic Passages of
Jeremiah", JBL 85, pp. 401-435. 1966
- "The Young Camel and Wild Ass in
Jer. 2:23-25", VT 18, pp. 256-260. 1968
- "On every High Hill and under every
Green Tree", VT 11, pp. 170-6. 1961
- Huffman, H.B. "The Covenant Lawsuit in the Prophets", 1959
JBL 78, pp. 285-295.
- "The Exodus, Sinai and the Credo", 1965
CBQ 27, pp. 101-113.
- "Prophecy in the Mari Letters", BA 31, 1968
pp. 101-124.
- "The Treaty Background of Hebrew Yada", 1966
BASOR 181, pp. 31-37.
- "A Further Note on the Treaty Back-
ground of Hebrew Yada", BASOR 184,
pp. 36-38. 1966
- Hyatt, J.P. "The Beginning of Jeremiah's Prophecy," 1966
ZAW 78, pp. 204-214.
- "Torah in the Book of Jeremiah", JBL 1941
60, pp. 381-396.
- "The Deuteronomic Edition of Jeremiah," 1951 Nashville
Vanderbilt Studies in the Humanities I,
pp. 71-95.
- Jeremiah, IB.

- Jacob, E. Theology of the Old Testament. 1958 London
- Janzen, J.G. "Double Readings in the Text of Jeremiah", HThR 59, pp. 433-447. 1966
- Jasper, F.N. "Reflections on the Moral Teaching of the Prophets," SJTh 21, pp. 462-476. 1968
- Jellicoe, J.S. "The Occasion and Purpose of the Letter of Aristeeas, A Re-Examination", NTS 13, pp. 144-150. 1965-66
- The Septuagint and Modern Study. 1968 Oxford
- Jeremias, J. Kultprophetie und Gerichtsverkündigung in der späten Königszeit Israels, WMANT 35. 1970 Neukirchen
- Johnson, A.R. The Cultic Prophet in Ancient Israel. 1944 Cardiff
- "The Psalms", in OTMS, pp. 162-209. 1961 Oxford (1951)
- Junker, H. "Die Entstehungszeit des Ps. 78 und des Deuteronomiums", Bibl. 34, pp. 487-500. 1953
- Kahle, P. The Cairo Geniza. 2nd ed. 1959 Oxford
- Masoreten des Westens, I - II. 1927-30 Stuttgart
- Kingsburg, E.G. "The Prophets and the Council of Yahweh", JBL 83, pp. 98-107. 1964
- Kirkpatrick, A.F. The Book of Psalms, CamB., Vol. II-III, 1895 pp. 276, 427f.
- Koch, K. Was ist Formgeschichte? : Neue Wege der Bibelexegese. 1964 Neukirchen
- (ET.) The Growth of the Biblical Tradition. 1969 London
- Köhler, L. Deuterojesaja: stillkritisch untersucht, BZAW 37. 1923

- Liebreich,
L.J. "The Compilation of the Book of
Isaiah", JQR 46 1955/
pp. 259-277. 6
JQR 47 1956/
pp. 114-138. 7
- Limburg, J. The Lawsuit of God in the Eighth
Century Prophets, Dissertation of
Union Theological Seminary. 1969
- "The Root ל'ך and the Prophetic
Lawsuit Speeches", JBL 88, pp. 291-304. 1969
- Lindblom, J. Prophecy in Ancient Israel. 1962 Oxford
- Linder, J. "Das Lied des Moses Dt. 32", ZKTh 49, 1924
pp. 374-406.
- Lods, A. "Une tablette inédite de Mari," in 1950
T.H. Robinson-Festschrift Studies in
Old Testament Prophecy, pp. 103-110.
- Lohfink, N. "Zu Text und Form von Os. 4:4-6", 1961
Bibl. 42, pp. 303-32.
- Lowth, R. De sacra poësi Hebraeorum. 1753
2nd ed. 1763
- ET: Lectures on the Sacred Poetry
of the Hebrews. (4th ed.) 1815 London
1839
- Lumby, J.R. The Second Book of the Kings, CamB. 1891 Cambridge
- Malamat, A. "Prophecy in the Mari Document, Israel 1956
Exploration Society", Eretz-Israel 4,
pp. 74-84.
- "History and Prophetic Vision in a 1958
Mari Letter", Eretz-Israel 5,
pp. 67-73, 86-87.
- "Prophetic Revelations in New Documents 1966
from Mari and the Bible", SVT 15, pp. 207-
227.
- Mausser, U. Christ in the Wilderness, SBT 39. 1963 London

- May, H.G. "The Patriarchal Idea of God", 1941
JBL 60, pp. 113-128.
- Mays, J.L. Hosea, OTL. 1969 London
Amos, OTL. 1969 London
- McCarthy, D.J. "Covenant in the Old Testament:
The Present State of Inquiry", CBQ
27, pp. 217-240. 1965
Treaty and Covenant. 1963 Rome
- McKenzie, D.A. The Ribh Theme in the O.T. 1959
Dissertation of the University of
Edinburgh, Ph.D.
- McKenzie, J.L. "Divine Passion in Osee", CBQ 17, 1955
pp. 287-99.
"Knowledge of God in Hosea", JBL 74, 1955
pp. 22-27.
- Mendenhall, G.E. Law and Covenant in Israel and the 1955 Pennsylv-
Ancient Near East.
Reprinted from BA 17 1954 vania
"Mari", BA 11, pp. 1-19. 1948
- Milgrom, J. "The Date of Jeremiah, Chapter 2," 1955
JNES 14, pp. 65-9.
- Moran, W.L. "New Evidence from Mari on the History 1969
of Prophecy", Bibl. 50, pp. 15-56.
"Some Remarks on the Song of Moses", 1962
Bibl. 43, pp. 317-327.
- Mowinckel, S. Zur Komposition des Buches Jeremia. 1914 Kristia-
nia
Prophecy and Tradition. 1946 Oslo
Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alt- 1941 Oslo
testamentlichen Profeten.
Psalmestudien, I - IV. 1921- Kristia-
1924 nia

- Mowinckel, S. The Psalms in Israel's Worship, II. 1962
- "Der metrische Aufbau von Jes. 62. 4-12 und neuen sog. Kurzversen", ZAW 65, pp. 167-87. 1953
- "The Name of the God of Moses", HUCA 32, pp. 121-133. 1961
- Le Décalogue. 1927 Paris
- Muilenburg, J. "A Study in Hebrew Rhetoric: Repetition and Style", SVT I, pp. 97-111. 1953
- The Way of Israel. 1962 London
- "Form Criticism and Beyond", JBL 88, pp. 1-18. 1969
- "The Linguistic and Rhetorical Usages of the Particle 'ו in the Old Testament", HUCA 32, pp. 135-160. 1961
- "The Form and Structure of the Covenant Formulations", VT 9, pp. 347-365. (FSCF) 1959
- "The Gains of Form Criticism in O.T. Studies", Exp.T. 71, pp. 229-233. 1960
- "The Terminology of Adversity in Jeremiah", in H.G. May-Festschrift, Translating and Understanding the O.T., pp. 42-63. 1970 New York
- Newman, M.L. The People of the Covenant. 1965 London
- Nicholson, E.W. Deuteronomy and Tradition. 1967 Oxford
- Preaching to the Exiles. 1970 Oxford
- A Study of the Prose Tradition in the Book of Jeremiah -
- Nielsen, E. The Ten Commandments in New Perspective, SBT II 7. 1968 London
- Shechem. 1955 Copenhagen.
- Noth, M. Überlieferungsgeschichte des Pentateuch. 1948 Stuttgart

- Noth, M. The Laws in the Pentateuch and Other Essays. 1966 Edinburgh
- "Old Testament Covenant-Making in the Light of a Text from Mari", pp. 108-117.
- "History and Word of God in the Old Testament", pp. 179-193.
- "Remarks on the 6th Volume of Mari-Texts", JSS I, pp. 322-33. 1956
- Das zweite Buch Mose, Exodus, ATD. 1959 Göttingen
- ET. Exodus, OTL. 1962 London
- Das vierte Buch Mose, Numeri, ATD. 1966 Göttingen
- ET. Numbers, OTL. 1968 London
- Obbink, H.T. "Jahwebilder", ZAW 47. 1929
- Orlinsky, H.M. "On the Present State of Proto-Septuagint Studies", JAOS 61, pp. 81-91. 1941
- "The Septuagint - Its Use in Textual Criticism", BA 9, pp. 21-34. 1946
- "Current Progress and Problem in Septuagint Research", in The Study of the Bible Today and Tomorrow (SBTT) ed. by H.R. Willoughby, pp. 144-161. 1947 Chicago
- "The Hebrew Root SKB", JBL 63, pp. 14-44. 1944
- Overholt, T.W. "The Falsehood of Idolatry", JTS 16, pp. 1-12. 1965
- The Threat of Falsehood, SBT. 1970 London
- Parrot, A. "Mari", in Archaeology and O.T. Study, pp. 136-144. 1967 Oxford
- "Autels et installations culturelles à Mari", SVT 14, pp. 112-119. 1953
- Pedersen, J. Israel, its Life and Culture, I - II. 1926 Copenhagen

- Perlitt, L. Bundestheologie im Alten Testament, 1969 Neukirchen
WMANT 36.
- Pfeiffer, R.H. "Die Disputationsworte im Buche Malachi," 1959
EvTh 12, pp. 546-68.
- Porteous, Living the Mystery. 1967 Oxford
N.W.
"The Old Testament and Some Theologic-
al Thought-Forms", pp. 31-46.
"Actualization and the Prophetic
Criticism of the Cult", pp. 127-141.
- Prichard, ed. ANET, 2nd ed. 1955
J.B.
- Procksch, O. Theologie des Alten Testaments. 1950 Güters-
loh
- Quell, G. "Wahre und falsche Propheten". 1952
- Rad, G., von "Die falschen Propheten", ZAW 51, 1933
pp. 109-120.
- Das fünfte Buch Mose: Deuteronomium, 1964 Göttingen
ATD 8.
- ET. Deuteronomy, OTL. 1966 London
- Theologie des Alten Testaments, Bd. I 1957 München
II 1960
- ET. Old Testament Theology, Vol. I 1962 Edinburgh
II 1965
- "The Promised Land and Yahweh's Land
in the Hexateuch", in The Problem of
the Hexateuch and Other Essays (ET),
pp. 79-93. 1965 Edinburgh
- "Das formgeschichtliche Problem des
Hexateuch", in Gesammelte Studien zum
A.T. 1958 München
- ET. "The Form-Critical Problem of the
Hexateuch", in The Problem of the
Hexateuch and Other Essays. 1966 London

- Reiss, W. "Gott nicht kennen im A.T.", ZAW 58. 1941
- Rendtorff, R. "Zum Gebrauch der Formel ne'um jahwe im Jeremiabuch", ZAW 66, pp. 27-37. 1954
- "Prophetenspruch", RGG V, pp. 635-8.
- "Botenformel und Botenspruch", ZAW 74, 1962
pp. 165-177.
- Reventlow, H.G. Liturgie und prophetisches Ich bei Jeremia. 1963 Gütersloh
- "Prophetenamt und Mittleramt", ZThK 58, 1961
pp. 269-284.
- Ridderbos, N.H. "The Psalms: Style-Figures and Structure", OTS 13, pp. 43-76. 1963
- Rietzschel, C. Das Problem der Urrolle, - Ein Beitrag zur Redaktionsgeschichte des Jeremiabuches. - 1966 Gütersloh
- Roberts, B.J. The Old Testament Text and Versions, "Text-O.T.", in IDB Vol.4, pp.580-594. 1951 Cardiff
- Robinson, T.H. "Some Principles of Hebrew Metrics", ZAW 54, pp. 28-43. 1936
- "Anacrusis in Hebrew Poetry", in Werden und Wesen des AT, BZAW 66, pp. 37-40. 1936 Berlin
- The Poetry of the O.T. 1947 London
- "Hebrew Poetic Form: The English Tradition", VTS I, pp. 128-49. 1953
- "Basic Principles of Hebrew Poetic Form", 1950
in Bertholet-Festschrift, pp. 438-50.
- "Baruch's Scroll", ZAW 42, pp. 209-221. 1924
- Röllig, W. "Mari", in RGG 3, Vol.4, pp. 744-747. 1960 Tübingen
- Ross, J.F. "The Prophet as Yahweh's Messenger", in 1962
Mullenburg-Festschrift, Israel's Prophetic Heritage (IPH), pp. 98-107.

- Rowley, H. H. From Moses to Qumran. 1963 London
- "The Early Prophecies of Jeremiah in their Setting," BJRL 45, pp. 198-234. 1962/3
- Rudolph, W. Jeremia, HAT. 1947 Tübingen
- Hosea, KAT. 1966
- "Der Aufbau von Exodus 19-34", Werden und Wesen des Alten Testaments, BZAW 66, pp. 41-48. 1936 Berlin
- "Zum Text des Jeremia", ZAW 48, pp. 272-286. 1930
- Saen, K. "The Study of Exodus 19:3b-8", Seishogaku-Ronshu 6. 1969 Tokyo
- Schmölke, H. "Gotteswort in Mari und Israel", ThLZ 76, cols. 53-58. 1951
- Schütz, E. Formgeschichte des vorklassischen Prophetenspruchs, WMANT
- Scholz, A. Der masorethische Text und die LXX-Übersetzung des Buches Jeremias. 1875 Regensburg
- Scott, R. B. Y. "Priesthood, Prophecy, Wisdom and the Knowledge of God", JBL 80, pp. 1-15. 1961
- "The Literary Structure of Isaiah's Oracles", in T. H. Robinson-Festschrift Studies in Old Testament Prophecy, pp. 175-186. 1950
- "A Kingdom of Priests, Ex. 19:6", OTS 8, pp. 213-9. 1950 Leiden
- Seebass, H. Mose und Aaron, Sinai und Gottesberg, pp. 109-112. 1962 Bonn
- Segert, S. "Problem of Hebrew Prosody", VTS 7, pp. 283-91. 1960

- Sekine, M. Eremiyasho, (The Book of Jeremiah). 1959 Tokyo
- Kodai - Israel Kenkyu, (The Study of 1969 Tokyo
Ancient Israel).
- Sellin, E. "Wann wurde das Moseslied Dt. 32 ge- 1925
schichtet?", ZAW 43, pp. 161-73.
- Shenkel, J. D. Chronology and Recensional Development 1968 Massachu-
in the Greek Text of Kings, Harv. Univ. setts
Press.
- Skehan, P. W. "The Structure of the Song of Moses in 1951
Dt.", CBQ 13, pp. 153-63.
- "A Fragment of the Song of Moses (Dt. 1954
32) from Qumran", BASOR 136, pp. 12-5.
- "The Qumran Manuscripts and Textual 1957
Criticism", VTS 4, pp. 148-160.
- "Qumran and the Present State of the 1959
O.T. Text Studies", JBL 78, pp. 21-26.
- BSQ - "The Biblical Scrolls from Qumran 1965
and the Text of the O.T.", BA 28, pp.
87-100.
- Skinner, J. Prophecy and Religion. (1922) Cambridge
 1963
- Smend, R. Jahwekrieg und Stämmebund. 1963 Göttingen
- Snaith, N. H. Hymns of the Temple. 1951 London
- "The Ben-Asher Text", Textus 2, pp. 8- 1962
13.
- Soden, W., "Verkündigung des Gotteswillens durch 1950
von prophetisches Wort in altbabylonischen
Briefen aus Mari", in Die Welt des
Orients, 15, pp. 397-403.
- Soggin, J. A. "Einige Bemerkungen über Jeremias 2:34", 1958
VT 8, pp. 433-435

- Sperber, A. "The Problem of the Septuagint Recensions", JBL 54, pp. 73-92. 1935
- Stamm, J. J. & Andrew, M. E. The Ten Commandments in Recent Research, SBT II, 2. 1967 London
- Steck, O. H. Überlieferung und Zeitgeschichte in den Elia-Erzählungen, WMANT 26. 1968 Neukirchen
- Streane, A. W. The Double Text of Jeremiah, (Massoretic and Alexandrian). 1896 Cambridge
- Swete, H. B. An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek. 1910 Cambridge
- Talmon, S. "The Desert Motif, in the Bible and in Qumran Literature", in Biblical Motifs, ed. A. Altmann, Harv. Univ., pp. 31-63. 1966
- Thackeray, H. St. John The Septuagint and Jewish Worship. 1921 London
- Thomas, D. W. "A Consideration of Some Unusual Ways of Expressing the Superlative in Hebrew", VT 3, p. 211. 1953
- " צלמרת in the Old Testament", JSS 7, pp. 191-200. 1962
- "The Root ץד׳ in Hebrew, I", JTS 35, pp. 298-306. 1934
- II , JTS 36, pp. 409-412. 1935
- "More Notes on the Root ץד׳ in Hebrew", JTS 38, pp. 404-405. 1937
- "A Note on the Meaning of ץד׳ in Hos. 9:7 and Is. 9:8", JTS 41, pp. 43-44. 1940
- "A Note on ץד׳ in Jr. 14:18", JTS 39, pp. 273f. 1938
- "Julius Fürst and the Hebrew Root ץד׳ ", JTS 42, pp. 64-65. 1941

- Thomas, D.W. "Some Rabbinic Evidence for a Hebrew Root וּת", JQR NS. 37, pp. 177f.
- "Some Remarks on the Hebrew Root וּת", JJS 6, pp. 50-2.
- "Additional Notes on the Root וּת in Hebrew", JTS NS. 15, pp. 54-57. 1964
- Tunyogi, A.C. "The Rebellions of Israel", JBL 81, pp. 385-390. 1962
- Vaux, R., de Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions. 1961 London
- "The Settlement of the Israelites in Southern Palestine and the Origins of the Tribe of Judah", in H.G. May-Festschrift, TUOT. 1970
- "The Revelation of the Divine Name YHWH", Davies-Festschrift, Proclamation and Presence, pp. 48-75. 1970 London
- Vriezen, T.C. An Outline of Old Testament Theology. 1962 Oxford
- "Ehje aser ehje", in Bertholet-Festschrift, pp. 498-512.
- Volz, P. Studien zum Text des Jeremia. 1920 Leipzig
- Waldow, E., von Der traditionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund der prophetischen Gerichtsreden, BZAW 85. 1963 Berlin
- Walters, W.P.M. (Katz, P.) "Septuagintal Studies in the Mid-Century", in C.H. Dodd-Festschrift, Background of the N.T. and its Eschatology, pp. 176-208. 1956 Cambridge
- Ward, J.M. "The Literary Form and Liturgical Background of Psalm 89", VT 11, pp. 321-339. 1961
- Weiser, A. Das Buch Jeremia, ATD. (5th) 1952 Göttingen
1966

- Weiser, A. Einleitung in das Alte Testament. 4th 1957 Göttingen
(1948)
ET. Introduction to the Old Testament. 1961 London
- Die Psalmen, ATD. 5th 1959 Göttingen
ET. The Psalms, OTL. 1962 London
- Welch, A.C. Prophet and Priest in Old Israel.
Jeremiah: His Time and His Work. 1955 Oxford
(1928)
- Westermann, C. Jeremia. 1967 Stuttgart
Die Mari-Briefe und die Prophetie in Israel, in Forschung am AT, p. 171f. 1964 München
Grundformen prophetischer Rede, (BEvTh 31) 1960 München
ET. Basic Forms of Prophetic Speech. 1967 London
The Praise of God in the Psalms. ET. 1965
- Wevers, J.W. "Septuagint", IDB vol.4, pp. 273-278.
- Whitley, C.H. The Prophetic Achievement. 1963 London
- Wildberger, H. Jahwewort und prophetische Rede bei Jeremia. 1942 Zürich
Jahwes Eigentumsvolk, ATANT 37. 1960 Zürich
- Wijngaards, J.N.M. The Formulas of the Deuteronomic Creed. 1963 Tilburg
" הַלֵּל וְהַלְלָה and הַלְלָה : A Twofold Approach to the Exodus", VT 15, pp. 91-102. 1965
- Williams, P.H. The Fatal and Foolish Exchange: Living Water for "Nothings". - A Study of Jeremiah 2:4-13 - Austin Seminary Bulletin, 81. 1965 Texas

- Winnett, F.V. The Mosaic Tradition. 1949
- Wolff, H.W. "Erkenntnis Gottes im A.T.", EvTh 15, p. 429f. 1955
- Hosea, BK. 1965
- "Wissen um Gott bei Hosea als Urform von Theologie", EvTh 12, pp. 533-555. 1952/3
- Reprinted in GSAT (Th.Büch. 22), pp. 182-205. 1964
- "Hoseas geistige Heimat", ThLZ 81, pp. 83-94. 1956
- Reprinted in Th.Büch. 22, pp. 232-50.
- "Guilt and Salvation, A Study of the Prophecy of Hosea", Interp. 15, pp. 274-85. 1961
- Gesammelte Studien zum A.T., (GSAT). 1964 München
- "Die Begründung der prophetischen Heils- und Unheilssprüche", ZAW 52, pp. 1-22. 1934
- Reprinted in GSAT, pp. 9-35. 1964
- "Hauptprobleme alttestamentlicher Prophetie," EvTh 15, pp. 116-168, in GSAT, pp. 206-231. 1955
- Workman, G.C. The Text of Jeremiah. 1889 Edinburgh
- Woude, van der "Micah in Dispute with the Pseudo-Prophets", VT 19, pp. 244-260. 1969
- Wright, G.E. Biblical Archaeology, 2nd ed. 1966
- "The Lawsuit of God: A Form-Critical Study of Deuteronomy 32", in Muilenburg-Festschrift, Israel's Prophetic Heritage (IPH), pp. 26-67. 1962 New York
- "Cult and History," Interp. 16, pp. 3-20. 1962

- Wright, S. E. The Old Testament against its Environment, SBT 2. 1950 London
- Würthwein, E. "Der Ursprung der prophetischen Gerichtsrede", ZTK 49, pp. 1-16. 1952
- The Text of the Old Testament. ET. 1957 New York
- Wutz, F. X. Systematische Wege von der Septuaginta zum hebräischen Urtext. 1937 Stuttgart
- Yeivin, I. "The New Edition of the Biblia Hebraica: its Text and Massorah", Textus 7, pp. 114-123. 1969
- Ziegler, J. Beiträge zur Ieremias-Septuaginta. 1958 Göttingen
- Zimmerli, W. "Die Eigenart der prophet. Rede des Ezechiel", ZAW 66, pp. 1-26. 1954
- "The Special Form- and Tradition-Historical Character of Ezekiel's Prophecy", VT 15, pp. 515-527. 1965
- Erkenntnis Gottes nach dem Buch Ezechiel. AThANT 27. 1954 Zürich
Reprinted in GAAT. pp. 41-119.
- Gottes Offenbarung, Gesammelte Aufsätze zum Alten Testament, (GAAT) 1963 München
- "Ich bin Jahwe", pp. 11-40. (1953)
- "Das zweite Gebot", pp. 234-248. (1950)